One, a cartoon on the front page of Oslobodenje, the main daily for the Muslim-side of the Bosnian capital, showed Clinton as a roly-poly Santa Claus doling out early Christmas presents to Muslims, Croats and Serbs. The other message was a banner, strung across a street in one of the five Serb suburbs that under

nian government control. "America," it said, "thank you for peace but plan for Bosnia, the roles are rewhere should we go now?"

The different responses underscored one of the most stunning reversals in Bosnia since war erupted here in April 1992. For 43 months, the Muslims of Sarajevo have been viewed as the great losers of this battle, suffering a brutal siege of sniper fire and mortar shelling.

The Serbs, their besiegers, have played the role of the victor, studying the city from field glasses, am-bling over to a howitzer, training their sights on an apartment building and blasting away. Now, sudup rusty jerry cans at the nearest

Dusan Panic, a 25-year-old soldier who pleaded with one reporter to buy his 2-year-old son some chocolates on the Muslim side. When told that just a few months ago, the best fudge came from stores on his side, he smiled wistfully. "Things change,"

Under the peace deal, most of Sarajevo, which has been divided since the war began, will revert in three months to control of the Muslim-dominated government. The estimated 70,000 Serbs who live in Serb-controlled territory are reportthe slush. Serb soldiers at check- edly fearful at the prospect of living

Izetbegovic. In a non-binding referendum on the peace deal held last week, more than 90 percent of them voted against it.

Serb officials have asked representatives of the U.N. High Commis sioner for Refugees for assistance in digging up their cemeteries so that "they can carry their dead with them

when they go," said one U.N. official While U.N. officials acknowledge that some of the opposition in Senheld areas around Sarajevo to the deal is genuine, an intense propa-ganda campaign by the Bosnian Serb leadership has magnified it Every night Bosnian Serb serves up a heavy dose of shrill reporting de signed to startle any Serb who

Aristide's 'Twin' Heads for Victory

Douglas Farah in Port-au-Prince

ENE PREVAL, the man widely predicted to sweep to victory in Sunday's elections, has such a close relationship with President Jean-Bertrand Aristide that supporters call them "the twins" despite their sharp differences in temperament and upbringing.

According to recent polls, Preval. 51, who was handpicked and endorsed by Aristide, could win the support of up to 72 percent of voters. None of the other 13 cundidates has drawn more than 15 percent. If no one wins more than 50 percent of the vote, a second round with the top two candidates will be held in January.

While Aristide, a former Roman Catholic priest, grew up in poverty, Préval is the son of an upper-middleclass rural family and he studied agronomy in a prestigious Belgian university. He mingled with the Haitian exile community in Europe while Aristide was organizing popular organizations to overthrow the Duvalier dictatorship.

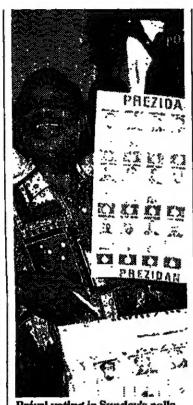
Préval's father was a minister of agriculture before François Duvalier came to power in 1957. The Préval family fled in 1963, moving to Europe. His experience abroad, according to his friends, gave him a much more sophisticated understanding of how the world works

"For example, Aristide understands nothing about economics," said one person who works with both Préval and Aristide. "Préval does. Clearly he is more conscious of the importance of the international community and a good bit more aware of trying to seek some sort of middle ground with the elite. He knows them and they know

Préval spent several years in New York, then returned to Haiti around 1982 and opened a bakery. He and Aristide began working together more than a decade ago when a mutual friend, Antoine Izmery, introduced them. Izmery, a wealthy merchant and principal financier of Aristide's 1990 presidential campaign, was assessinated by military thugs in 1993. Aristide rose to prominence as a

mesmerizing speaker while Préval worked with grass-roots organizations. He remains awkward and nervous in public appearances. Both survived numerous assassination attempts. The two were together at the St. John Bosco Church, Aristide's parish, in September 1988 when heavily armed army thugs burst into a Mass and killed 13 people. The two escaped through a side door.

Préval, known affectionately as Ti



versed. Formerly beleaguered Sara-

jevo is flooded with bananas, diesel fuel, Swiss chocolate, squid and a

modicum of hope. Three radio sta-

tions vie for listeners with the latest

in gangsta rap and Motown classics.

turned quickly to defeat. Suburbs

like Ilidza and Vogosca, which once

got rich on black market deals by

selling fuel and fish to Sarajevo, now have their hand out. Old ladies

hawk gasoline from soda bottles in

points beg foreign reporters to fill

On the Serb side, triumph has

dent in 1990. Aristide named Préval his prime minister and minister of Rene or Little Rene because of his defense. They were toppled by a

which only was reversed 14 months ago when a U.S.-led force brought back Aristide and Préval. Now, if Préval wins, the chal-

enge will be for the two to oversee the first peaceful transfer of power in the nation's turbulent 191 years as an independent nation. Préval after spending years being overshadowed by Aristide in the Lavalas movement, seems more comfortable in the wings and has promised to govern "hand in hand" with Aristide - who is prohibited constitutionally from seeking consecutive

Leslie Voltaire, Aristide's chief of staff and a close friend of Préval, described Préval as "very shy, loyal and practical. He delegates a lot of authority, sometimes too much. He is very pragmatic."

Pragmatic, however, is not a word many would have used to describe Préval in the early days of the Aristide government. He was more distrusted by many at the U.S. Embassy and in the Haitian business class than was Aristide. Aristide was widely viewed as a radical, embracing liberation theology and its elements of Marxism, while decrying capitalism as a "mortal sin." And Préval was viewed as even further to the left.

In August 1991, the fractious Parliament demanded that Préval, as military coup in September 1991, I prime minister, appear for question-

ing and possible censure. Aristide objected strongly. Massive demonstrated strations around the Parliament building by supporters of Aristide and Préval forced the legislators to adjourn before taking up the carsure motion. The demonstrators se tires ablaze, set one building on fire wrecked a political party headquaters and attacked two legislators.

While burning tires, the demon strators chanted, "Don't lay a finger on Préval. You will get burned," in what many observers viewed as a threat to use the gasoline-soaked tires as "necklaces," putting them around the neck of opponents.

The demonstrations helped set the climate for the bloody military coup that toppled the government. During the coup, Preval wentino

hiding and, with the help of lanery, was taken in the trunk of a French diplomat's car to asylum at the French Embassy. From there, he made his way to Mexico, then joined Aristide in Washington during most of the three years of exile.

While 20,000 U.S. troops occupied the nation last year to restore democratic rule and oust the military. some 6,000 U.N. troops remain, including about 2,200 Americans, to help stabilize the nation. "If Haiti can establish a proces

whereby a tremendously popular president leaves office voluntarily. democracy will have taken a huge step here," said a veteran diplomat "Even if power is going from one twin to another, the fact there is a

TheGuardian Weekly The Washington Post Le Monde

BUDGET CITY

Comeback Kid wins duel in the sun

THE YEAR IN THE USA Martin Walker

Week ending December 31, 1995

Vol 153, No 27

T WAS the year of the graphs. Wall Street stocks rose and rose, apparently defying economic gravity to break record after record. The dollar plunged and then soared against the Japanese yen. The Clinton administration boasted that it had maintained its record of creating 2 million new jobs a year. The stock of the Republican leader, Speaker Newt Gingrich, sank and sank, while the approval ratings of President Clinton and his reputation in international affairs rose on an alnost reciprocal trajectory.

The only unchanging trend in the game of political snakes and ladders was that of Senator Robert Dole. who ended the year as he had started it, the dully predictable Republican front runner for the presidential nomination. Aged and unexciting at 72, and as far from the radical conservative pyrotechnics of Speaker Gingrich as he was from the glib, resilient energies of President Clinton, Mr Dule appeared to be the tortoise in a race of hares. Even the blaze of hope and publicity which engulfed retired General Colin Powell in the summer and autumn could not deter the dogged Dole as he continued his stately plod towards his last chance at the

White House. But that brief and tantalising star burst of Colin Powell was entirely characteristic of an American year that was punctuated by such flares. The first was the real explosion of klahoma City in April, when more than 180 people inside a federal government office building were killed by a large home-made bomb. The trials have yet to start, but this act of domestic terrorism appears to have been the work of a shadowy new militia movement of people who helieve that their government is engaged in an authoritarian conspiracy against traditional American

The second nova that flared across the airwaves and the press as if it were the original sin of Amerwas the conclusion to the long, long trial of O J Simpson. He was acquitted by a largely black jury of murdering his estranged wife and a restaurant waiter who was visiting her. Despite much play with DNA evidence by an unimpressive prosecution, the defence managed to persuade the jury to cast its verdict for different trial altogether whether Simpson had been the victim of a plot to frame him by palpaaly racist white police.

The third great blaze of the year was a sympathetic explosion, detonated by the OJ trial, the milliontion of Islam leader, Louis Farrakhan. Convinced that Aids and drug abuse are white conspiracles

to his march as ever gathered for Dr | The prosecution was poisoned by Martin Luther King. In the event, Farrakhan's speech was a weird mix of ancient Egyptian mysticism and postmodern sociological sense. America's black males should take responsibility for their own communities and their own families. There were some common

threads that connected these great flurries of national attention. Common to Colin Powell and OJ Simpson and the million man march was that besetting obsession with race, ican democracy since slavery. Each of the three men had taken an entirely characteristic route of ambitious black Americans to promi-nence and prosperity: Powell through the military, OJ through sport and entertainment, and Farrakhan to radical politics by way of

the attempt. America might have paranola into principle, of outsider man march of black males in march, but they could not abide the Washington convened by the Na- anti-Semitic messenger in his bow tie with his bodyguards in comic opera uniform.

A prominent black American

the perjured racism of a white detective who denied using the word "nigger", although it was often on his lips. And the defence injected that poison back into the deliberations, not only of the jury, but into a broader national audience whose white members were overwhelmbad guys. ingly convinced of his guilt, while its black members were equally confi-

"DO AS I SAY OR THE OLE FOOL GETS IT !"

HE common thread linking these events to Olkahoma City was the perennial American theme of conspiracy, that life was being manipulated by shadowy and sinister forces. Whether by group of gun-loving white zealots in men in Washington, the evil con-In each case, something went | was the American way, from the | the budget within seven years. awry. America might finally have | patriots of 1776 to the plots of countbeen ready to embrace a black pres less Hollywood movies. The elevaident, but Powell was not ready for | tion of self-interest into virtue, of responded to that great groan of black pain from the million man art form; there would not be much left of American art without it.

dent of his innocence.

That was also the strategy that President Clinton devised to challenge the new Republican ascendancy in Congress. The wicked poor, the college loan programm for the ambitious, and the network of rules and regulations that protected the natural environment. But the president, mentally screening his favourite movie High Nuon. would go alone into that dusty street and do righteous battle against the

The Republican project gave Clin ton the chance to define himself by standing stalwart guard over those and the Great Society which enjoyed broad popular support. He seized the opportunity, cast veto after veto, allowed the government to start closing down as 800,000 federal workers were sent home for three days, and made speech after camouflage suits, by a jury in Los speech about "the violation of our Angeles, by a massed rally of black values". All along, however, he was prepared to concede the fundamenspirators had to be resisted. That I tal Republican target of balancing Beneath the surface of this battle

over the budget, a very parallel drama unfolded within each political party. The dispirited and muchdiminished Democrats in Congress, reduced by the 1994 mid-term elecions to a largely liberal core which constantly shed southern conserva tive defectors to the Republicans, grappled for an identity. In the White House was a New Democrat and a destroying black America, Farrakhan managed to exploit the racial tensions of the OJ trial to rally twice as many black Americans

A promunent black American might finally have been given a fair trial was prevailed tensions of the OJ trial to rally twice as many black Americans

A promunent black American dancy in Congress. The wicket who insisted on being tough on crime, on reforming welfare and exposing American workers to the elderly, the Medicaid system for the stormy competition of free trade. In

the Congress were protectionists. liberals who deplored America's grim precedence in incarcerating more of its citizens than any other country, and minority legislators who saw welfare reform as a code phrase for abandoning an underclass in which minorities were disproportionately represented.

In the Republican party, the fissures were even more confusing. There were the cautious old hands of the Senate led by Dole, and the firebrands of the House led by Gingrich. There were the Christian Coalition supporters who battled to outlaw abortion, and the liberal Republicans who thought that the sleeping dog was better left undisturbed. There were isolationists and internationalists, passionate free traders and that reborn America First protectionist Pat Buchanan. Adding to the confusion were the fiscal Ayatollahs of the House with their passion for flat taxes, some of them even rallying to repeal the 16th Amendment to the Constitu tion, which authorises income tax. It was, therefore, a year of tumul-

tuous political realignment, in which conservatives stopped conserving very much, and tried, in Gingrich's words, "to dismantle the liberal welfare state and replace it with the conservative opportunity society". But Gingrich lost the aura of visionary leadership that he had won by marshalling the new Republican majority. He whined at being treated with insufficient respect aboard the presidential plane, and said that he had reached his target of seven years to balance the budget through "intuition". The House ethics committee, after much delay, appointed an independent counsel to investigate his murky financial affairs, and the Federal Election Commission filed charges in federal court that his Gopac organisation had broken campaign finance laws.

Clinton's authority over his party n Congress was never strong, and the continuing Whitewater embarrassments eroded it further. By the end of the year, the refusal of the president and his aides to comply with subpoenas from the Senate banking committee and to hand over notes of meetings between his private and his presidential lawyers was heading for a clash in the courts between the prerogatives of the executive and the legislature.

By sheer coincidence, this standoff took place as the billboards of American were plastered with the slogan "Nixon in 96", to promote the

Quiet killing of India's daughters

Can war crimes tribunal work?

Racism lurks in

part-time journalism professor here has begun talking unrepen-tantly about his after-hours work as a prostitute and his private views that man-boy sex can be The case was ignited last

month, when Gerald Hannon, a magazine writer who teaches a lournalism course at Ryerson Polytechnic University, was exposed in a Toronto tabloid as a published exponent of "intergenerational sex," specifically between adult men and adolescent boys.

Hannon's colleagues and students, Ryerson's administration and faculty union, and most. of the city's journalism commuuity railied to the popular professor's defense.

Although he has written sympathetic articles about paedophilia and openly argues that healthy intimate relationships are possible between

generations, no evidence has surfaced that Hannon ever discussed the subject in his context of journalism law.

Apparently emboldened by his new status as a crusader for academic freedom, Hannon spilled another sensational tale recently. He said he supplemented his teaching and writing income by advertising sexual services in newspaper ads. "My niche is men who find older men attractive," said Hannon, who is 51.

Prostitution is legal bere, and once again there was no evidence that Hannon ever conducted or touted his sex business on campus or with students. But under a torrent of bad publicity, Ryerson President Claude Lajeunesse auspended Hannon and barred him from the downtown Toronto campus pending an status as a member of the teaching community of Ryerson." . .

"They hired me for two rea-

good teacher," Hannon said recently. "Nothing has been changed by the discovery that I'm a prostitute as well. Nothing." He

investigation into whether his "al-leged conduct is unbelitting his

was joined at a news conference by representatives of the Writers Union of Canada and the union representing Ryerson's part-time teachers, as well as by faculty and Hannon continued to insist

that relationships between men and boys can be beneficial, citing a recent conversation with a 54-year-old man who was still grateful for having had such an experience when he was 9.

Jonathan Knight, an official of he American Association of University Professors in Washington, said he could think of no recent case involving a faculty member in a U.S. university facing sanctions because of private sexual conduct or ideas. He said such cases typically arise in church-related institutions where professors are expected to be role models in private and public, not just pedagogues.

John M. Goshko

C ECRETARY General Boutros D Boutros-Ghali and U.S. Ambasdiplomatic discourse when Boutros-Ghali denounced the "vulgarity" of

sador Madeleine K. Albright last week shattered the United Nations' normal atmosphere of decorous her language. Albright, in turn, replied that his accusation was The exchange, sparked by a dis-

pute over whether the United Nations or NATO should oversee a peacekeeping force in the disputed region of Croatia known as Eastern Slavonia, was almost unheard of in a forum where a term like "counterproductive" is considered the outer. limits of fighting words. It marked a new flareup of the tensions that frequently have affected U.S. relations with Boutros Ghall in the four years since the veteran Egyptian diplomat became secretary general.

The argument came as diplomats have been speculating whether Boutros-Ghall, whose term expires at the end of 1996, will seek a second five year term and whether the had in mind was tastelessites

United States would support him The Clinton administration disagrees with many of Boutros-Ghalls policies and priorities, and it has said privately that it hasn't decide whether to back his re-election.

However, Albright issued a state ment saying that she "does not want to extend this disagreement with the secretary general any further. Other U.S. diplomats added that his latest tiff did not denote an irrepart ble breach between Washington and Boutros Ghali. The question of U.S. backing if he seeks another term to mains open, they added.

The sharp exchange took place during a closed meeting of the Secr rity Council. Sources who were pri sent said Boutros-Ghall, speaking French, referred to criticism of his made by Albright and said he was shocked by the statement of the American spokesman and shock by its vulgarity."
Perhaps the final word can

from a French diplomat, who said "Actually we don't think vulgary, was the most precise translation what he said. We think the term is

Canadian Professor Stirs Freedom Debate | War of Words at U.N. sons: I'm a good writer and I'm a Chartes Trueheart in Toronto COOLLY testing the outer limits of academic freedom, a classes. It has come up, he and students have said, only in the

Unrestrained capitalism the real issue for Labour

party to learn lessons from its Anipodean cousins, and we have much more in common with the Australian labour movement than with the previously idolised American Democrats, Labour will ultimately have to choose its own way. That this is already happening was touched upon by Martin Kettle "Keating has a lesson for New Labour", December 17), as he described the compact between organised labour and the Australian Labor Party, which protected a section of the population from the impact of privatisation and deregulation, ironically introduced by prime ministers Hawke and Keating. At the moment there is no sign of a similar compact in Britain, and here the debate has moved on: for privatisation, deregulation and tight fiscal control have brought about poverty. unemployment and de-industrialisation on a scale hitherto unknown since the thirties.

No such compact existed in New Zealand, whose last Labour government pursued a radical foreign policy, while unleashing the unfettered forces of the free market, dubbed "Rogernomics" after the finance minister who, in defiance of electoral gravity, pursued monetarist

So the New Zealand Labour Party languishes at 16 per cent and falling in the polls, and has recently been overtaken by the new Alliance Party, comprising socialists and environmentalists — and now the

This all goes to show that, conpact or no compact, parties of the left

WHILE it is quite understand- | job creation, decent public services able for the British Labour | and economic growth. And parties of the left will continue to be weak so ong as they fail to challenge unre-Mark Seddon, Editor, Tribune, London

> ARTIN KETTLE'S report on Australia's Labor government airly portrays its many achievenents. However, the article did not ully acknowledge the importance of the trade unions' role in Australia, which has been about much more than delivering pay restraint in reurn for the government delivering on the social wage.

Many of Australia's recent indus-

trial and social achievements have their origins in initiatives taken by the Australian Council of Trade Unions. The ACTU itself promoted union mergers and amalgamations, the restructuring of the award system which determines pay levels. and major initiatives on training and superannuation. The accord process has worked so well because the trade union movement recognised the economic challenges facing Australia and was itself prepared to come up with imaginative policies to improve industrial competitiveness. while at the same time seeking to protect and enhance working condi-

lions and trade union organisation. Kettle suggests that British conditions agenda, and are unlikely to adopt the strategic approach pursued by the ACTU. However, unions here have also learnt from the Australian experience and from having faced four consecutive terms of Conservative government. Nobody is saying that the accord process could

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or should be replicated here, but the signs are that unions will indeed have a broad and strategic agenda in any discussions with an incoming Labour government,

Patrick Quinn, Branscombe, Devon

Target Nigerian regime, not Shell

AM PUZZLED to find in the Guardian Weekly what amounts to a plea for ethical world management by multinational corporations ("A world forced to keep bad company", December 3). Martin Woollacott states that multinationals should act morally; that there are many governments that behave immorally; and that deregulation and internationalisation of trade and industry have given multinationals great power. But there seems to be a wide gulf between these charges and his conclusion that "if corporations are world managers today, they are not good ones - because they work on the basis of an almost complete separation of trade from politics".

Thank goodness they do. World government by business would be even worse than the national government by business from which we Britain currently suffer. The roblem is surely how to establish democratic international control how to persuade the multinational 'world managers" to govern us more ethically

If we could maintain a more rigorous distinction between business and government, we might see pressing for action against the

Nigerian regime, not against Shell. Those who have been clamouring for a boycott of Shell because of its failure to persuade the Nigerian government not to execute Ken Saro-Wiwa, or its failure to persuade the Nigerian government to allocate more oil revenues to the Ogoni people would, I suspect, be the first to protest if Shell were found to be interering in the internal political affairs of the UK. Or is business interference in politics all right so long as it is in a cause that we agree with?

VERT violation of normal western ethical principles" is justified by a professor of marketing at Miami University ("Ethics and good business go hand in hand", December 3) in the pursuit of mak-

Brian Barder.

ing "significant money". What is the name of his course. Imperialism 101? Lois Griffiths, Christchurch, New Zealand

The saving of Poland

((/OUNG technocrats" govern-

portray the events of Poland's recent past. Walesa has lost, but the business of government continues as before.

College of Liberal Arts and Sciences,
Steele makes two shrewd obserChicago, Illinois, USA as before.

vations but fails to follow them through. Kwasniewski's victory certainly represents "the defeat of the Walesa's poll rating was 8 per cent, but people eventually (reluctantly) backed him as the only man to beat

However, there was another factor at work, connected with the "cult of the personality" Steele sees around Walesa: half of those who supported minor candidates in the first round subsequently backed Kwasniewski; and among the undecided, there was a very personal anti-Walesa vote, caused by doubts over his intellectual capability, competence and misgivings about his close ties with the church hierarchy. Walesa's "cult of the personal ity", once a source of support, now nduces a negative reaction. It is this which lost him the election, not eco-

In keeping with the romantic Poland-Britain analogy, Steele wishes luck to the ex-communists who "replace" the "Thatcherite ideologues", in their "uphili struggle". Ir fact, for the past two years Polane has been ruled by a parliamentary coalition of the ex-communists (SLD) and the Peasant's Party

nomic shock-therapy.

forced through legislation, despite numerous vetoes, by obtaining the necessary two-thirds majority to overturn the president's rejections. While progress has been slow, it is the ex-communists who have been running Poland until now and will probably continue until the 1997 parliamentary elections. With Walesa gone there will be less tension, but it is basically "business as usual" in partiament.

Steele finally attacks "Big Bang obvious fact - there is a Big Bang taking place. Along with all post-conmunist countries, Poland faced a crisis of hidden unemployment in 1989. Shock-therapy dealt with these problems: while unemployment is 14.7 per cent, it is predicted that inflation will rise to around 22 per cent and GNP by 6 per cent next year, the

fastest growth in eastern Europe.

God forbid we talk about the "trickle-down effect", but with all its faults, it is through the private sector that Poland can ensure its future

Ewa Switala

Shot in the arm for China

IS IT possible that the Royal Mail knows its history of medicine better than Colin Luckhurst ("Jenner's cure", December 3)? No doubt Edward Jenner did use vaccination in England 200 years ago; but what about the Chinese practice of it precisely 1,000 years ago, when Prime Minister Wang Tan's family were all after Wang's son had died of smallpox? The practice became wide-I ing with "pragmatism and so- spread in China after the 16th cial sensitivity" sweep away the century, and was described then by "Thatcherite ideologues" — a beau- Yu Tien-Chih and Yu Ch'ang. In tiful allegory to warm the hearts of | their day, too, the practice spread to Britons who have suffered 16 years | Turkey where, in 1718, Lady Monof Thatcherism. Unfortunately, tagu, the wife of the British ambas-Jonathan Steele's article ("Big Bang" sador, had her family "variolated". brought end to communist bogy". Within the next three years the November 26) does not accurately | practice became widespread in Europe for protection against small-

(Prof) Paul Hockings.

THE MURDER of the African

I stowawnys and the prosecution of the Ukrainian captain and crew (December 17) will not be the last At present all shipping companies ssue detailed instructions to masters to carry out searches for stow-aways before leaving high-risk ports. This is almost impossible due to the size and complexity of modern ships and their minimal crews. Stowaway do not carry passports or identity pa pers and hence many countries wi not accept them. They can spend years effectively imprisoned on mer chant ships before being repatriated to their home country.
It is time that the international

community accepted that the policy f punitive fines against shipowners is not working and a policy of repatriation of stowaways from the port of arrival to the last port of call is

(Capt) E J Fitch,

MUST challenge Paul Evans's comments on the "arrogance of old King Canute" ("Retreat from the sea". November 26). According to the version of the legend I was taught some 70 years ago, Canute, a modest man, sought to demonstrate to his over-zealous subjects that he was not omnipotent by showing his inability to stem the incoming tide. Apart from a few old fogies like me. who even knows or cares today? I should, however, like to know which version is correct. D S Haveretoft,

THE United States's effort in Bosnia is doomed to failure be cause as soon as there are a couple of American casualties resulting from the action of extremist Serb forces, scenes of hysterical bereaved mothers on US television will force a rapid about-turn in foreign policy.

Because of the scar of Vietnam on the national psyche, the US is incapable of fighting foreign wars in which their own personnel are never really threatened. Andrew McIntyre,

Dunblane, Scotland

l F THERE has ever been a justifi cation for the contention that the industrialised nations of the North are callously exploiting and wreck-ing the so-called developing countries of the south, it is BAT Industries reaping a profit of £1.8 billion with the help of "booming sales" of cigarettes to the naive and innocent peoples of the Third World (Finance In Brief, November 19)-Isn't it high time that all those shabby and shady companies that deal in death, be it with cigarettes or weapons, were brought to justice? (Dr) Wilfried Westphal,

The Guardian

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Clinton wins duel in sun

Continued from page 1 new Oliver Stone film about the president whose Watergate scandal had an ominous echo in Clinton's Whitewater woes. Tricky Dicky Nixon was to win a triumphant reelection and become a historic foreign policy president before being brought down. Slick Willie Clinton appeared on track for re-election, and could claim great credit for the ceasefire in Northern Ireland, for the Arab-Israell handshakes on the White House lawn, and for the restoration of a democratically

thetic and even respectful re-appraisal by the end of 1995. He

might be Slick, but Gingrich looked

equally slippery, with a worrying dash of craziness.

After a dismaying first two years in office, Clinton's third year as

president was very nearly flawless,

domestic politics and in interna-

ional stewardship alike. But Clin-

ton's recovery is desperately

fragile. There are six major foreign

disasters that could easily occur

next year, and any one could sink

The first is Bosnia, where 20,000

US and 40,000 other Nato and non-

Nato troops will be policing a rickety

peace agreement in a mine-strewn

mal parade of body bags home to

the US in election year. The second

is Mexico, where Clinton's boldness

n rallying a \$50 billion international

ailout for the peso is not so far

being rewarded by a return to eco-

Democratic rule in Haiti appears

not to have taken firm hold yet, and

new flood of boat people in the

summer would not help Clinton's re-

election. The great gush of senti-

mental gratitude to Clinton among

Irish-Americans hinges on the flim-

siest of fudges over the peace talks

and disarmament process in North-

ern Ireland. The nasty flirtation in

1995 with a new cold war against

China could easily recur, depending

on events in Taiwan and in Hong

have come back to power via the

ballot box in Hungary and Poland,

and their success in Russia would

expose Clinton to unfair but insidi-

ous conservative sneers of squan-dering the cold war victory he

nherited from Presidents Reagan

In the end, the politics of 1996 will

what is now becoming an unusually

prolonged period of expansion. But

not yet combined to produce a sense

the vast majority of Americans,

If the trend lines continue as they

did in 1995, Clinton will be re-

elected to continue his High Noon

with a Republican Congress. If not,

talks to founder, we should take our

gether: Perhaps Gunflight at the not-

OK Corral would fit the bill.

whose incomes have stagnated.

f comfort and contentment among

Kong. The reformed communists

andscape that is likely to send a dis-

the murder, although the police held a 19-year-old man for several weeks. elected president to Haiti. Above Powder burns were found on his all, he could claim to have achieved clothing, but the police said they did the Bosnian peace agreement, nenot have enough evidence for an ingotiated on a US Air Force base in dictment. The man is now free and still living in Taiyiba village. He is Salim Jemel, Rudeina's son. Thumpingly repudiated by the mid-term voters at the end of 1994, Whoever pulled the trigger Clinton was being awarded a sympa-

Derek Brown in

'honour killings' of

Palestinlan women

room and shot her twice.

Talyiba reports on the

Rudeina Jemel was the victim of what is called here an "honour killing" - a sick euphemism for a degenerate crime. The offence for which she paid with her life was that, after many years as a divorcée, she wished to remarry. The women of her family supported her decision the men vehemently opposed it.

In Palestinian society the tradi tional view is that a divorced woman's place is in her parents' home. But Rudeina had already broken with tradition. She was, by all accounts, a remarkable person; an exemplary mother, a successful businesswoman, and a source

strength for all the family. The house where she died i spacious two-storey villa that she had built to underline her independence. It is now home to three generations of women who have rejected their menfolk to come together in grief and anger.

"She provided a refuge for all the family. She gave us all so much,' says Marwa Jbarah, a niece. "To have killed her is to kill all the women in this family. She gave us power, and now we are lost. In our society, women are supposed to serve all the time, give all the time. They killed my aunt because she was a very strong woman."

Rudelna's mother, Muzayan, age 70, looks frail and grey. "She didn't do anything wrong," she says of her laughter. "All she did was to decide to get married. I realised it was lan honour killing in the first min-utes after I heard what had hap-

N THE night of September 8, Rudeina Jemel went to bed with a cup of coffee. Soon afterwards - the coffee was still warm when they found the body - a killer entered her bed-No one has been charged with

Bitter legacy . . . Fatin, aged 18, stands at the grave of her mother, Rudeina Jemel, a divorcée killed

ened. I am still sick from it," she says. | away. In 1994, a Druse woman of 38 Does she believe her grandson could have done it? "I don't want to say that," she replies. "I am going to die. I am afraid to go to God and learn I was wrong." Later, she says of Salim: "Right now, I hate him. I can't see him now, but I am the one who looked after him when he was a little kid. He was usually in my arms."

Rudeina's daughter Fatin, aged talks bitterly of the reaction to the killing. "People say they are very sorry, and that they thought my mother was a very respectable woman. But behind our backs, 1 know they are saying she would not have been killed without a reason."

Fatin is a nurse at a hospital in Neanya, on the Israeli coast. "I think he Israelis I talk to there are more shocked than the people here, because in their society it is impossible to kill a woman like this," she says.

That despairing comment is not of course, true. Women are killed by their menfolk in Israel (42 in 1992 and 1993), as they are in Britain or any other country. What makes Palestinian society different is that the barbarity is still condoned by

A few months ago, a man knifed his sister in the street in the northern village of Daliyat el-Karmil. He was applauded as the police led him

who had lived in New York for 15 prother, aged 21 and serving in the Israeli army, upbraided her for her western dress and habits. When she told him to mind his own business. he shot her 20 times with his service rifle. The family refused to condemn the killing.

In 1989, an Arab delegation pleaded with the Israeli courts to reat honour killings leniently, as a ong-standing cultural custom. The courts seem to have taken the plea. o heart. According to women's groups, most such murderers, who rarely conceal their crime or evade capture, receive prison sentences of even years or less.

Roughly a sixth of all Palestinians nearly a million people - live in srael. Taiyiba lies about a mile west of the so-called Green Line dividing Israel from the occupied West Bank. It is virtually indistinguishable from the towns on the other side of the pre-1967 border, not least in the plight of its womenfolk.

Yet there are signs of change. Recently, a small but noisy procession Nazareth demanded an end to the practice which, activists say, has claimed the lives of at least 27 women in four years.

were men. Among them was Amir Makhoul, a social worker, who said: l am here because I believe in it." For many years, he said, people had kept silent about honour killings. The issue of women was put on the margins of political activity. It is not so much a matter of religion. In general, the religious lenders are still keeping silent, or sometimes they condemn the killings. The real problem is with the traditional political leaders who are always looking to

pick up votes." The point was underlined by another marcher, Ali Rafan, A lawyer and devout Muslim from Haifa, he passionately denied that honour killings could be justified by the Koran. Pulling from his pocket small white cards bearing passages copied from the Koran, he quoted verse after verse enjoining tolerance and

mutual respect between the sexes.

A coalition of women's groups, both Palestinian and Israeli, seems to be picking up momentum. But there are divisions. Some are reluctant to antagonise the traditionalists.

Aida Toumai Suleiman, an ac tivist, insisted that the campaign was directed against all violence committed in the name of family honour. "We are not going against anybody. We are trying to create a

Snipers fly the nests of death

A deflant Serb-held district of Sarajevo is giving up its menacing and bloody secrets, writes Julian Borger

depend on the economy, which con-dinued to grow throughout 1995 in million new jobs since Clinton's belongs to Vladimir Cosic of the town — to a 30-yard stretch of the defiant songs of Grbaylea's Serb to have many doubts. election, stunning export and pro-"Serb Army". It is held shut by a city's main thoroughfare, known ductivity gains and low inflation have piece of string and a peg.

Inside, the apartment is lifeless and bare. On the floor there are a few old clothes, dog ends, some grainy photographs of laughing peo-ple a long time ago — and about 20 large, spent bullet cartridges.

"Sniper's nest" seems too cosy a phrase with which to describe it. It and if Gingrich is right to warn of a | is as chilling and desolate as the Wall Street crash were the budget | grave.

A fist-size hole has been punched seats for a different movie alto- in the wall and then all but closed again with two metal sheets, leaving

since April 1992 as Sniper Alley.

has been scored into the plaster. There are similar marks in other photographer found what appeared its streets in litt to be a scoreboard, with notches months time. alongside's list of names,

For Sarajevans, this apartment reason than any of the city's Serbs block and others in the Serb-held, to fear reprisals. Theirs is a rebeldistrict of Grbavick have assumed a held sallent in the heart of the capimenace far beyond their grim archi- tal. Mortars and artillery shells can

see any part of them, you were in

mortal danger.

That was before the present ceasefire. After three months of HE door to the eleventh-floor state one can see bepersonal entrance in the block. According to the painted inscription, it

Closing one eye, one can see beyond the concrete banks of Sarapersonal entrance in the block. According to the painted inscription, it

Closing one eye, one can see beyond the concrete banks of Sarapersonal entrance in the block. According to the painted inscription, it population,

Grbavica, like all the Serb sub-Near the hole, a series of notches urbs around Sarajevo, has been has been scored into the plaster. handed to the Bosnian government by the Dayton peace agreement broapartments, with equally good kered by the United States. The views of the boulevard. In one flat, a Bosnian police are due to take over its streets in little more than three

Grbavica's residents have more tecture. Not long ago, if you were in be deadly, but snipling is personal. sculpture the centre of town and you could The killer chooses his victim. In victims.

Sarajevo, he may even know his victim. At the very least, he knows if the target is a civilian.

Snipers fought on both sides, but Grbavica's tower blocks claimed the most lives by far - and justice will be done. It is not clear whether the United Nations tribunal in The Hague will classify Vladimir Cosic and his fellow snipers as war crimi-

Recently, Grbavica came out on to the street to add its furious voice to the other Serb districts calling for the Dayton map to be changed to let them stay Serb. Young men and women burnt mock copies of the agreement, and stamped on the US flag.

There was talk of the Sarajevo Defence Movement, a local militia that has vowed to defend the Serb suburbs against the government and, if hecessary, Nato. The podlum was decorated with shrapnel sculpture and photographs of Serb



the secret service at home.

Up to half the newborn daughters in parts of southern India are killed. Suzanne Goldenberg reports from Madurai

district, Tamil Nadu

AKSHMI has the taut skin and wide eyes of a woman who has seen a lot of suffering. She brought five children into the world and sent three of them to the next within hours of birth. All

Her first daughter was poisoned, the fourth suffocated with a wet cloth. When the fifth arrived, Lakshmi just bashed the baby's head against a wall. There was no future for her daughters anyway, she said. Her husband earns only 3,000 rupees (\$90) a year as a bonded labourer. The family needs a son who can help him earn, not another daughter to feed.

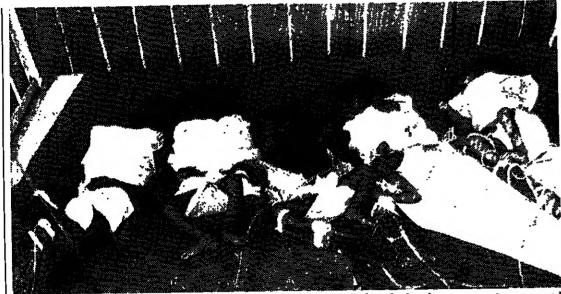
"I am suffering in this life," she said. "My children should not suffer also. That's why I killed them."

She still has a grudge against her daughters — both the living and the dead. "To our family God gave five girls. They made my body weak and my milk dry up. If he had only given

Here in Madurai district, near the southernmost tip of India, girls are seen as nothing more than a drain on family finances. In her village of Kannapuram — a cluster of thatched huts, bleached out by heat and surrounded by scrub - Lakshmi is not alone: several women have killed their daughters or allowed them to be murdered by rela-

The Indian government and social activists say female infanticide may be illegal, but it is growing. Surveys of some sections of Madurai district claim to show that half of all newborn girls are killed. Girls are most at risk if their mother already has a daughter.

But across India there is little reliable data on how many babies are being sacrificed to the cult of a boy child. Infant mortality figures do not buried secretly in backyards, or despair of ever raising the money to dumped in the jungle. The more see their daughters into adulthood.



The lucky ones: these infant girls, in Salem hospital, were saved after the local government announced it was putting cots in public spaces where people could deposit unwanted children

alarmist reports claim that in drought-stricken and poor areas, it is a miracle if a second daughter survives at all. But it is generally agreed that the

practice is spreading from upper-caste communities to districts where daughters once were tolerated. The methods of dispatch are terrifyingly similar: poisoning by locally made concoctions; suffocation by forcing a few grains of unhusked rice down tiny throats; starvation or neglect. Some babies are buried alive. Lakshmi's neighbour, Malkuddi

saved three of her daughters from her husband and in-laws but her luck ran out when the fourth child was also a girl. With her husband threatening to throw her out and her in-laws muttering that she was jeopardising the family line, Malakuddi had little choice. A day after the birth, she fed her unnamed spiky-leaved, knee-high plant that grows all around the village. The baby bled a little from her mouth and nose, and was still. They buried

Here in Madurai district, village women working with the small non-governmental Urban and Rural Institute for Social Education (Urise) to reduce infant deaths say parents

While elaborate marriages - | tion among the Kallars. There is a paid for by the bride's family - are common throughout South Asia, tradition is especially strong among the Kallars of southern Tamil Nadu. For the Kallars, who take comfort in a distant past as tribal chieftains, a woman's life is marked out by ritual, and a family's honour rests on its ability to conduct the ceremonies

Ear-piercing, head-shaving, coming-of-age rites, and finally the wedling; all are occasions when a girl's parents are expected to distribute cash and gifts to an extended family - saris for the women, dhotis (loin clothes) for the men, 22-carst gold jewellery all around. Then there is dowry. In the Usilimpatti area near Madurai, a prospective groom with a secure government job commands 25,000 rupees (\$750) and 80 grams of gold, as well as household goods.

Even after the bride is taken to her in-laws, the obligations continue. Her parents are expected to finance her first pregnancy and delivery - including the customary distribution of gifts. If the bride's father-in-law dies, she is expected to bring consolation gifts. "Our tradition is destroying us," said one of the village social workers. "If we continue this killing, five men will have to marry the same woman."

programmes to saleguard girls. Nearly three years ago, Jayalalita announced she would put cradles in public spaces where people could deposit unwanted children. The res cued children would be put in orphanages at state expense, and the the same genteel convent in Madras that she attended.

Although the scheme was an ounced with much fanfare, it does not appear to be working. The Welre Minister, R Indirakumari, adf Tamil Nadu, and refuses to say Even the most generous estimates speak of only 60 children — not all

It is also not as imaginative as it seems. In Usilimpatti town, the Indian Council for Child Welfare, been taking in babies for the past five years — but has still saved only rather kill their children than create orphans with no fixed caste identity. who may dishonour the family later

They are also atraid their daughular Tamil director.

In Kartama, the mother saves he inwanted daughter by smuggling her out of the village. The baby grows up to become a doctor, and eventually returns to nurse her aged, ailing father.

Enlivened by song-and-dance scenes with dozens of extras, the di rector thought he had created to powerful argument against infauticide. But that is not how it is seen in villages like Kannapuram, where the birth of a girl can condemn an entire family to poverty. — The Observer

I Iayalalitha has launched several chief minister would pay from her own pocket for their schooling at

GUARDIAN WEBQLY

mits it is confined to a single district how many babies have been saved. girls and many no longer babies.

However, Indirakumari claims that just by being there, Jayalalitha helps to save baby girls. "She is a very dynamic chief minister, and an ncouragement to all ladies," she said. But critics say female infanticide cannot be viewed in isolation from the low status of women generally. "The cradle programme is like finding a patient with fever and treating the fever without finding out the underlying malaise," said V S Chandralekha, a former civil servant and one of Jayalalitha's fiercest opponents. "It is a semi-literate reaction."

government-supported agency, has 65. Village women say they would

ters may return and see vengeance. This notion has gained currency since the release last year of a film against infanticide by a pop

the end of her marriage. Her husband, a woodcutter, balked at the expense of raising a daughter and left her. "My husband would not have left if it had been a boy," she said. "I had to kill it. There was no alternative. God made a plan for us to suffer, but we killed the baby and HERE IS such ignorance in

high rate of unemployment and seri-

ous alcohol abuse. For Amarvati,

who thinks she is 38 although she

looks much older, the arrival of a

second unwanted daughter meant

Muthupechi village that many women see girls as malign spirits. "My fourth daughter started out as a boy," said one woman. "But then somehow it changed inside me." So she killed the baby. Village social workers say it is important to focus on a woman before the baby is born. They take her to the doctor for check-ups and bring her small presents to convince her there can be some benefit having a girl. Afterwards, they make sure everyone in the village knows a girl has been born, and that they have donated money to pay for her education. Urise claims to have sayed scores of babies this way.

On a bigger scale, the Tamil Nadu government of Chief Minister

Rich family ties of the Red Emperor

The \$1 billion corporate empire of Deng Xiaoping has enriched a generation of family, flunkeys and politicians. But what will happen when he dies? Catherine Field reports

N A QUIET street just north of Tiananmen Square, two guards in frog-green uniform stand at the entrance to Miliangku, a typical paved courtyard surrounded by unassuming low-rise dwellings. Here stands a large house, at least by Beijling standards: a dining room that comfortably seats a family of 18; a modest lounge decked out with a bright Chinese rug, net curtains and an armchair where the head of the family likes to relax and consult the family astrologer or listen to the radio in the evening.

You might think it belonged to a party official rewarded for years of unstituting service, a man of ungarnished tastes, content with three meals a day and the sight of his grandchildren at play.
But the home of Deng Xiaoping.

China's Red Emperor, a diminutive 91-year-old with ultimate authority over a nation of 1.2 billion people, harbours a court that is accumulating wealth and power on a scale unprecedented for any Chinese dynasty since the Manchu era. The Dengs' personal wealth is a closelyguarded secret, but experts estimate that the family controls assets worth at least \$1 billion and perhaps as much as \$2.5 billion.

hurled to their doom.

by weaving baskets.

also helped to forge an iron-clad

sense of family - the only possible

Those who know the Dengs are im-

security when peril is all around.

Shamelessly exploiting the Deng name in a country where guanxi (connections) are virtually an instinct, the patriarch's three daughters and two sons, extended family and supporters have China's top positions in their grip.
Yet as Deng's health declines, the

family's fears rise; for his death will unleash the threat of disclosure and destroy the foundations of its stability and wealth

Deng is now said to be a virtual shell, incapable of walking without the help of two people. His blurred speech is incomprehensible without the aid of his youngest daughter, Rong. His hands shake, apparently from Parkinson's disease, and his eyes are glazed. He was last seen in public in February 1994 at the time of the lunar New Year. He looked so frail that, far from sending a message of continuity to the public, he ignited all sorts of rumours, from his impending to actual death. The stock markets in Hong Kong, Shanghai and Shenzhen nosedived.

pressed with the Sicilian-like But today the elite still talk up his warmth and solidarity of the clan, health. Prime Minister Li Peng in and the unquestioning devotion to September broke taboo of not comthe great man at the top. menting on Deng's health, saying But loyalty and unity are not in he had visited the ailing leader "recently" and adding: "I can tell you that he is doing well." His family has that end, the Dengs have armed been reinforcing the official mes- money and power can provide. The sage. On a trip to Macau, Deng's children have received the finest edeldest daughter Lin said: 'I am sure ucation available in China, topped he can visit Hong Kong in 1997. Rumours about my father's al-United States, a phenomenal advanlegedly critical state of health have | tage for mainland Chinese. Over the been reported some 300 times." | past 15 years, they have stealthily Deng Nan, his middle daughter and spread their tentacles throughout the least controversial of his child the Communist Party, the military dren, told Charles Wang, a visiting and the administration. And like American businessman, at a private luncheon in Beijing in October that her father is still able to play bridge, pickings that came up for grabs communisters. Pulang was sentitle and the administration. The administration in the communist party cadres on its payroll and four government ministers. Pulang was sentitle and the communisters and the communisters and the communisters and the administration in the communisters and th although says Wang: "She said that after Deng opened up the Chinese duced by the glamour, trading his ... The real bruiser in the family is the she now sits behind him and tells economy in the 1980s. him what to do."

No family is more aware of the business that the Dengs made their caprices of fate and power than the biggest blunder - one that gener-Dengs. During his remarkable life, ated immense public resentment Deng has seen four changes of and even now may prejudice their regime, endured civil war and surability to survive when Deng goes vived three purges by Mao Zedong. to meet Marx. In the early stages of He saw China plunged into famine by the folly of the Great Leap Forthe economic reforms, in 1984. Deng Pulang used his connections ward, then thrown into nearto set up a trading firm, Kang Hua, anarchy under the Gang of Four. capitalising it with donations to The quiet pragmatist saw many men wards a fund he set up to help the fall out of favour with the throne and disabled. The profits generated would also go to the disabled.

For Deng's children, the Cultural Revolution was the deepest trauma. branding them with the experience of humiliation and even torture. Deng himself was exiled to the countryside where he lived in a bamboo house and operated a machine lathe at a tractor-repair shop. while the imperial fiat lasted. Deng's brother, Shuping, commit-

ted suicide after he was humiliated its way in. Among Kang Hua's docuby Red Guards, and the patriarch's elmented scams were 10,000 videocasdest son, Pulang, according to his sissette recorders that were illegally ter, flung himself from a fourth-floor imported and sold on the local marwindow, trying to flee his termentors. ket, and turned out to be obsolete. Pufang, his spine severely damaged, Hundreds of Japanese cars were was dumped on a filthy bed in a pau-pers' clinic, where he lived on a daily sneaked in and resold at huge prof-its. The firm monopolised the Beibowl of stewed cabbage and a black jing taxi business, to the point where passengers were too scared to com-plain about taxi drivers in case they steamed bun and earned a pittance Such cruelty bred in all the got into trouble with Kang Hua. The Dengs an awareness of the real nacompany scoffed at million-dollar tax ture of Chinese political society:

SEPTEMBER 1988, Pu-fang's fledgling enterprise had grown into a many-

tinely violated regulations on foreign

The princelings - the sons and medium and large-scale enterprises the metals industry.

thor of China After Deng Xiaoping.

toting bodyguards, and surround-

ing himself with slick young execu-

tives. It was a far cry from the late

1960s, when Pufang was hauled

around Beijing on the flathed of a

Putang had become synonymous

with graft and influence peddling. Al-

though no concrete evidence has sur-

faced to suggest that Pufang himself

was corrupt, the scandal helped to

fuel the protest movement in Tianan-

men Square, with the horrific crack-

down that followed. "Deng Pufang

was the first in the family to engage

n business and become a target be-

cause Kang Hua was one of the four

largest business conglomerates in

of the Contemporary Chinese Re-

bacle, the Tiananmen massacre and

the traumatic fall of the "fraternal"

regimes of the Soviet bloc. The

golden rule was: gain influence, but

not prominence, recalling the

proverb, "the fatter the pig, the like-

The first task was to resolve the

Kang Hua problem. The corporation

was wound up. Pufang has never

ventured back into business again,

although he is rumoured to have a

Swiss bank account running into

eight figures. He remains an ener-

getic activist for the disabled, but

has had to renounce his well-known

The most visible Deng outside

China is the old man's eldest daugh-

ter, Lin, aged 54. Overweight, my-opic and with a taste for voluninous

floral dresses. Lin is vice-president of

the Chinese Association for the Ad-

vancement of International Friend-

ship, a job that takes her on frequent

boosted through marriage. Her

husband, Wu Jiangchang, is chair-

man of the China National Non-

Ferrous Metals Industry Corporation

(CNNC), which supervises 300

political ambitions.

lier it will end up in the pot".

search Centre in Hong Kong.

By May 1989, Kang Hua and Deng

tricycle, pedalled by a friend.

Group Corporation, a subsidiary of the People's Liberation Army. Poly Group controls or has interests in 100 other firms, generating annual revenue of at least a billion dollars from trading in property and exporting Chinese arms to unstable regimes, such as Iran, Syria and

sity, New York, and his first child was born in the US, causing much sniggering that Deng Xiaoping's grandson is an American. Zhifang is chief executive of Shongang Con-cord Grand, the property flagship of Shougang, China's third-biggest steel corporation. He is a close associate of Zhou Beifang, Shougang's former head, who is being held on corruption charges for unspecified "serious economic crimes".

China," says Joseph Cheng, director The family quickly learnt the lessons of 1989 — the Kang Hua deterests of political stability.

> became wealthy because they had connections," explains Cheng. "If state council, China's cabinet.

mines were opened up after Tiananmen, when Deng accelerated the opening-up of the Chinese economy in an apparent attempt to appease the masses. Chinese firms expanded abroad, and foreign inestors flocked to China

the Dengs and those associated with them, are threatened by the emeremotional ties with the "Immortals"

will be to cleanse the national soul of Tiananmen Square's bloodstains. The Deng name then may no man becomes an official, his wife. children, dogs, cats and even chickeconomy in the 1980s.

But it was in the rush to enter | Mercedes 380 with driver and gun | She is a graduate of politics at Johns | fall with him. — The Observer

Elite reap benefits of Manila's boom

Economic reform has done little for the 30 million Filipinos living in dire poverty, writes Kevin Watkins

Manila is booming. Property prices have gone through the roof, the stock exchange is the second fastest-growing in the world, and expensive new hotels on Ayala Avenue host Japanese investors who, not so long ago, viewed the Pl pines economy as a sick joke.

In the shopping precincts, an orgy of consumerism is under way, as well-heeled Filipinos indulge their tastes for imported designer clothes, Italian furniture and US household appliances. A sense of confidence and opportunity fills the air.

Tondo. Here in the vast, sprawling of success. Economic growth has slum areas along the north of surged to more than 5 per cent in Manila Bay, and where more than a the past two years, exports are million people live in conditions of abject poverty, the air is filled with have risen by 60 per cent, and un-

THE Makati financial centre in | permanent flood-waters contaminated with raw sewage. Diseases such as measles, diarrhoea and respiratory infections are killers, especially in the rainy season.

On "Smoky Mountain", at the north-west tip of the slum, families built on rubbish tips. For those who find work, the going rate is about \$3 a day. Most survive by scavenging. Viewed from Makati, President

Fidel Ramos's "Philippines 2000" economic reform programme, which aims at newly industrialisingcountry status by the turn of the The same cannot be said of century, appears to be on the verge Children wade barefoot through | capital are flowing into the country. | Almost all of the measures recom- | migration, which divides millions of | Kevin Watkins works for Oxfam

But for the 30 million Filipinos living below the poverty line, economic recovery has brought few benefits. In contrast to its neighbours in the Association of South-East Asian Nations (Asean), the Philippines government has failed to combine growth with social equity and redistribution. The richest fifth of the population controls more than half of national income.

> may also be premature. Even on the best-case scenario of 8 per cent growth a year, it will take the Philippines two decades to arrive at the average income levels in Thailand today. The more likely scenario is an economic slowdown, with the country's underfunded infrastructure and grossly inequitable land system impeding growth potential. In recent months inflation has

moved into double figures. All of which leaves President Ramos, now in the third year of a | ing the current account deficit. precedented amounts of foreign six-year term, with a conundrum.

mended by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) have been implemented. Since 1992 most public assets have been sold off, banking has been opened up to foreign competition, restrictions on foreign investment have been lifted and import barriers slashed. Once a bastion of protectionism, today the Philippines economy is one of the most liberalised in Asla. Yet scratch the surface and the results have been far from impressive.

Elsewhere in Asean, fiscal policies have been used to translate economic growth into high levels of savings and productive investment. In the Philippines, by contrast, growth has fuelled a consumer boom. Investment rates remain low and imports flood local markets.

One economic lifeline is the export of labour. Unemployment, low pay and rural poverty have forced around 4 million Filipinos to seek work overseas. Today, the \$4 billion in remittances provided by these overseas workers is effectively halv-

This dependence on mass labour

families, is a source of deep resent ment. President Ramos has pledged to phase out overseas labour in the next five years. However, he has yet to explain how he will square this with his government's Memoran dum of Understanding with the IMF, which envisages a 20 per cent increase in remittances from overseas workers.

The brutal fact of the matter is that poverty at home and forced labour migration are a central part of the government's growth stratsays Professor Leonor Briones, an economist at the versity of the Philippines.

Labour migration is the inevitable corollary of the absence of land reform. At least 70 per cent of rural producers turn half of their produce. over to landlords. In South Kores and Talwan, radical land redistribit tion signalled the start of the economic miracle, but in the Philippines the reins of power remain is the hands of a landed oligarchy. There is little prospect of agrarian reform until this power is broken,



Eager to impress the emperor's son, state companies and bureaucrats showered the wheelchair bound entrepreneur with cash, permits or other favours in the confidence that this would secure a quid pro quo or at least immunity

But corruption gradually wormed bills, bribed local officials who stood lawless, merciless and vengeful. It in the way of business deals and rou-

headed monster, reaping profits of 50 million yuan (\$6 million) a year, and was fast spreading out of control, themselves enough for survival. To | according to Cheng Lu, a former employee. The People's Daily reported that at its height Kang Hua had 58 | foreign trips. second-tier companies, of which 33 were direct subsidiaries and 25 regional subsidiaries controlled by local party officials, as well as 133 third-tier companies.

daughters of the ruling élite clamoured for jobs in Kang Hua. At one point, the conglomerate had more than 60 top Communist Party tures metals, Wu is also chairman of cadres on its payroll and four gov- the government body that regulates

ing, whom she charmed by singing to him during the dark moments in the Cultural Revolution. As his personal assistant, she tells her father what is happening in China and the outside world, and passes on his responses to outsiders.

Hopkins University and also worked in the Chinese embassy in Washing-

ton where, according to diplomats,

she spied on overseas Chinese for

Rong has benefited enormously

from her closeness to Deng Xiaon-

Rong secured a \$1 million fee from Rupert Murdoch last year to write a two-volume biography. The first volume, Deng Xinoping My Father, "violated an unspoken party regulation against senior cadres writing autobiographies or allowing their offspring to pen hagiographic pieces while they are still alive", according to Willy Wo Lap-Lam, au-

Rong's position is further enhanced by the power wielded by her husband, He Ping, head of Poly

ENG'S youngest son. Zhifang, received a PhD in physics at Rochester Univer-

The rumour in Beijing is that Zhou Beifang implicated Zhifang in a bid to save himself, and that, in order to get Zhifang off the hook, Deng's family agreed to toe the line about their father's health in the in-

How has the elite become gloriously rich? "In the early 1980s, a lot of children started enterprises and you can obtain permits to import or export something, that is a tremendous asset." Use of family names to influence business is expressly banned under a 1985 edict from the

But the most glittering gold

A generation of politicians owe their ascent or survival to Deng. an enormous spiritual debt under China's Confucian system of relationships. But in the longer term. gence of a generation of 40-somethings who crave power but have no who fought the revolutionary war.

The task for these next leaders longer be a magic shield: "When a years ago to try Nazi leaders. Was justice served then - and will it be now, asks Richard Norton-Taylor TITY YEARS ago last month, slavements, assassinations and murther Nuremberg trial of "war ders in countries occupied by the

crimes" opened to a fanfare of rheloric amid a collective purging of guilt and forced optimism about the

Nuremberg was hailed by Sir Norman Birkett, one of the tribunal judges, as "the greatest trial in history". Sir Hartley Shawcross, Britain's chief prosecutor, confi-dently predicted the tribunal would "provide a contemporary touchstone and an authoritative and impartial record to which future historians may turn for truth, and future politicians for warning". Fifty years later, these words have a hollow ring, after crimes often perpetrated by the Nuremberg victors — the bombing of Cambodia during the Vietnam war, for example, or the torturing of Algerians fighting for independence - or crimes to which the West turned a blind eye: Saddam Hussein's gassing of Iraqi Kurds, for instance, and the killing of a quarter of a million people, many of them civilians massacred in cold blood, in the former Yugoslavia.

The legacy of Nuremberg continues to haunt the West. Last month, Erich Priebke, an 82-year-old for-mer SS captain, was extradited from Argentina to Italy to face trial for his role in the massacre of 335 Jews and resistance fighters in the Acdeatine caves near Rome in 1944. (He insists that any culpability on his part was the result of obeying orders.) Next year, the first alleged Nazi war criminal to be prosecuted in Britain under the 1991 War Crimes Act is expected to face trial: Szymon Seradown in lengthy arguments about finowicz, aged 84, is accused of Counts 1 and 2, which concealed finowicz, aged 84, is accused of murdering four unknown Jews in German occupied Byelorussia.

For the first time since Nuremberg, an international criminal tribunal has been set up to try war crimes in the former Yugoslavia and in Rwanda. Bosnian Serb leaders Radovan Karadzic and General Ratko Mladic are charged with being individually responsible for genocide and crimes against humanity. More than 40 others, including Croat Serbs and Bosnian Croats, have been indicted. But only one is held in custody — Dusko Tadic, a Bosnian Serb charged with murder-ing and raping Muslims and Croats during the ethnic cleansing cam-

paign in north-west Bosnia in 1992. Robert Jackson, chief US prosecutor at Nuremberg, described in his opening speech how, at Dachau, victims were immersed in freezing. water, then warmed by a hot bath. | war (and then there were Stalin's | wait, notably at the Eichmann trial, | He described what he called the gulags). It took Moscow 50 years to for a fuller, more complete, picture. Nazi scientific triumph of rewarm-admit responsibility for the massing with animal heat: "The victim, sacre—for which they had blamed the overall plan to exterminate the quested the setting up of a tribunal.) ing with animal heat. "The victim, all but frozen to death, was sur, all but frozen to death, was sur, rounded with the bodies of living officers during the second world cratic process, a mosaic of minuscule fragments, each one indimensional common vidually very ordinary and commonsponded to his environment by hav-ing sexual intercourse. Here Nazi degeneracy reached its nadir." Such cruel and obscene experiments, he added, were not the work of "underling-degenerates but of master-

minds high in the Nazi conspiracy. Other Nuremberg prosecutors referred to sterilisation, castration and abortion programmes, to en-

ders in countries occupied by the Nazis, to the Berlin directive that "the fertility of the Slavs is undesirable", to the systematic extermination of gypsies and Jews. The core crimes were genocide and crimes against humanity. Yet transcripts of the 10-month trial show how relatively little time was devoted to these atrocities. "The victors did not want to see the war as a war against genocide of the Jews," says Anthony Glees, director of European Studies at Brunel University.

For these charges raised uncomfortable questions, reflected on in a recent book, Rwanda And Genocide In The Twentieth Century (Pluto Press), by Alain Destexhe, former secretary general of Médecins sans Frontières and now a Belgian senator. "During the second world war," he notes, "at no time did the Allies modify their military objectives in order to save Jews, even after 1944 when there was no longer any possible doubt as to what was happening. :Half a million Jews were murdered in Auschwitz between March and November 1944, when the last lines leading to the death camps were never targeted."

The 21 defendants at Nuremberg were charged not only with Crimes Against Humanity and War Crimes (including shooting prisoners of war) but with The Common Plan or Conspiracy (plotting a war of aggression), Count 1, and Crimes against Peace (waging aggressive war), Count 2. The trial got bogged the crime of genocide but created their own problems. As E L Woodward, historical adviser to the Forelgn Office, pointed out; "Up to September 1, 1939, His Majesty's Government was prepared to condone everything Germany had done to secure her position in Europe." While the West laid itself open to

the charge of appeasement — as it has done since — the Soviet Union was also in the frame. The indictment for crimes against peace was a phoney charge; if the defendants were guilty then so were the Rus-sians," says David Cesarani, professor of modern Jewish studies at Manchester University. If the Nazis were guilty of crimes against peace and waging aggressive war, then so were the Russians, who had at tacked Poland. Finland and the Major War Criminals" — gave away Baltic states at the beginning of the its limitations. The world had to

Kalyn forest in Byelorussia. Nuremberg prosecutors laid Nuremberg prosecutors laid place Only a tiny percentage of themselves open to the charge that those who participated in the genoticle actually shot a Jew or turned on the charge that indexent the cide actually shot a Jew or turned on the control of the control tice, a charge that undermined their the gas, It was the bureaucrats who



Facing war crimes charges . . . Radovan Karadzic (below, right) and General Ratko Mladic, and Nazi eaders on trial at Nuremberg (above)

cent memoirs, Life Sentence: The Memoirs of Lord Shawcross (Constable), to be worried by the "historical view that by their own conduct of the war, the Allies had lost the moral authority to conduct the trial. have always felt it was difficult to defend our saturation bombing of Dresden and Hamburg at a time when Germany was already collausing. I have felt a similar difficulty about the atom bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki — especially if, gassings took place, yet the railway as is now believed by some. this horrific demonstration was intended not so much to bring an early end to the war with Japan as to warn the Soviet Union of the power available to the West."

Even those who accept that Nuremberg was deeply flawed insist that the trial was none the less significant. "For the first time," Cesarani says, "Individuals were put on trial for sending their people to war and ordering them to commit atrocities . . It was no longer enough to say 'We were just obeying orders'." The Nuremberg trials, says Richard Goldstone, the South African judge and chief prosecutor at the war crimes tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda, "were a meaningful instrument for avoiding the guilt of the Nazis being ascribed to the whole German people"

ACKSON told the Nuremberg tribunal in his opening ac dress: 'The idea that a state any more than a corporation, commits crimes, is a fiction." Shawcross echoed this: "It is no use having a leader unless there are also people willing and ready to serve their personal greed and ambition by helping and following him." But the very title of the tribunal - "German"

nitted "odious crimes which cried out for punishment", a few hundred were sentenced to death by the victorious occupying powers. The War Crimes Act is an admission of Whitehall's failure, or reluctance, to vet those implicated from entering Britain. Glees, an adviser to the War crimes inquiry that led to the Act, estimates that there are about 100 "se-

ious suspects" still alive in Britain. The reasons why the UN Security Council agreed to set up a war crimes tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, when so many other cases since Nuremberg have been ig-nored are not hard to find. As Goldstone has put it, conduct there was "reminiscent of the Holocaust — 'ethnic cleansing' and photographs which could have been taken in Nazi concentration camps, it was happen-ing in Europe and that had become inconceivable in the post-Nurem. berg era". In other words, it was a result of pressure from public opinion and a guilty conscience. (The Rwanda case was easier: the Tutsi- withholding from Goldstone quested the setting up of a tribunal.)

It is difficult to see how the Yugoslav tribunal will amount to any thing more than a symbolic and especially international law the prosecution of the law that Karadzic and Mladic, or the hindsight to have been the beginothers indicted for war crimes, will ning of a new era of enforcement of be handed over, especially given the international humanitarian law. We be handed over, especially given the international humanitarian law moral authority. The victorious powhelfs to the "dirty often whilst remaining at their process. Goldstone is not even get the process. If Nuremberg — where the process. Goldstone is not even get the process. The process content is not even get the process. Gol

month he complained to the Clinton administration about its failure to provide him with information gathered by US intelligence about the Bosnian Serb attack on Srebrenica and the massacre of Muslims there in July - niter Karacizic and Mladic had been indicted for war crimes. "The only information we have re-

ceived of genuine usefulness," he told Sieve Mathias, legal adviser a the US embassy in The Hague, "was the imagery of the potential mass grave sites relating to the fall of Srebrenica . . . The imagery was provided to us, however, only after h was leaked to the press," Reports by the Independent British American (Basic) that US intelligence intercepted telephone communications between Mladic and the Serbian Army chief of staff, General Moncilo Perisic, about the impending attack on Srebrenica, have been confirmed by US officials. Germany and France are also believed to be mation about war crimes in Bosnia. Setting up the Yugoslav, and Rwanda tribunals, says Goldstone

"is a major step ushering in a new

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

THE YEAR IN BRITAIN 7

From glorious summer to winter of discontent

James Lewis

ALLING school standards. crime-related violence, rail breakdowns and inaccurate timetables, squabbling royals and bishops, complaining teachers and doctors, health scares, serial murder, sleaze in high places - the year's headlines made for gloomy

Future historians may well find 1995 to have been a pretty ordinary sort of year, but most people living through it have not seen it that way. Poll after poll recorded heightened levels of job anxiety, insecurity, and stress-related illness. Little wonder that the "feel-good" factor continues to clude a government desperate to find something — anything — to ward off defeat at the next general

One of the enduring memories of this year will be the sight of columns of road tankers ferrying water from Northumberland to prevent the taps of Yorkshire from running dry — in December. The operation, costing £1 million a day, was the only alternative to cutting off water supplies on alternate days, which would have left some people without water on Christmas Day.

True, the glorious summer had been Britain's driest since 1727, and the privatised water companies found it difficult to keep up with demand. Consumers, already annoyed by what they perceived mathe indu-cently high salaries and perks that the water bosses were found to be awarding themselves, were infuriated to discover that more than a quarter of the country's water was running to waste through unrepaired leaks in the pipe network. As the year drew to a close, many of the water companies were still imposing hosepipe bans. And fire officers prayed to be spared a major conflagration which could exhaust their water resources.

Of course, things could have been worse, but the sight of columns of tankers was, to the older generation, all too reminiscent of some wartime emergency, or perhaps a relief operation in a Third World country; another piece of evidence to suggest that once-trusted services could no longer be relied on.

As well as disrupting water supplies, the lovely summer blew a serious hole in the profits of tour operators, whose usual customers lound it warmer - and cheaper to stay at home rather than fly to the lediterranean.

It may have been the heat that ushed the Prime Minister's palience to the limit. In mid-year, to veryone's surprise, John Major resigned as Tory leader and triggered a contest that could otherwise not have been held until November. It was a challenge to his Eurosceptic tormentors to "put up or shut up". Velsh Secretary, John Redwood was trounced by 218 votes to 49.

The Prime Minister's hand should have been strengthened and, for a while, it seemed to be. But the death of several members of the parliamentary party, and the first defection by a sitting Conservative to Labour — Alan Howarth (Stratfordupon-Avon) - have reduced the Totles' Commons majority to five.

Mr Major can afford no further rifts, so his public utterances have ome to sound increasingly hostile to the European Union, While this is partly done to buy the loyalty of his own Eurosceptics. t is also to emphasise one of the few stretches of "clear blue water" that now lie between Tory policies and those of Tony Blair's "new" Labour Party. The Conservatives won an opt-out from the social chapter of

would opt back in. The social policy agreement aims harmonise Europe by requiring on issues that affect them; allow fathers paternity leave; and give part-time workers the same entitlements, pro rata, as full-timers. The fories argue that this would impose ntolerable burdens on employers. Labour begs to differ.

the Maastricht Treaty, but Labour

Labour's stance, and its promise to legislate for a minimum wage, has, surprisingly, not harmed it in the eyes of businessmen, many of whom are starting to wonder whether a Labour government might be better for them than a re-elected Tory one dominated by Eurosceptics.

A number of polls over the year have suggested that the Tories are losing their title as the natural party of business. The latest - a survey of senior managers by the Institute of Management — showed support for the Conservatives had fallen to 42 per cent (from 60 per cent in 1992). A startling 32 per cent said they would vote Labour (against just 12 per cent at the last election).

But Mr Blair could be skating on thin ice. His party has only grudgingly allowed him to break Labour's over-cosy relationship with the trade unions. The forbearance of leftwingers, who have sacrificed many principles in the interests of unity



and electability, might finally snap if he fell into the trap of cuddling up too close to industry. But he did, surprisingly, get away with travelling to Australia to fraternise with the media mogul and arch enemy of enthralling royal soap opera, "old" Labour, Rupert Murdoch. Princess Diana hinted that she con-

Labour's main fear is that It will

Brown is now hinting at a tax rate

that could start as low as 10 per-

cent. But the belief - also held by

the Government — that the voters

can be bribed with promises of tax

cuts may be misplaced. A British So-

cial Attitudes survey, taken just be-

that only 4 per cent of voters wanted

them increased to pay for more

spending on health, education and

Animal rights lobbyists made

their presence felt throughout the

social benefits.

fore the November budget, found

fail to shake off its image as the unfit to be king, the inference being

the heir to the throne, Prince

Charles, is divorced. Could it coun-

tenance a divorced or remarried

king as head of the church? Mean-

while, in the latest instalment of the

sidered her estranged husband

_that the tags of whealt go to their टी-dest son, William. As his mother —

and a popular figure in her own

right — she can hardly be shuftled off by the royal establishment.

which will probably have to buy her

silence by offering her the "ambas

It was a pretty miserable year for

anybody who had anything to do

with the Home Secretary, Michael

Howard. Because of some embar-

rassing prison escapes - notably

from Parkhurst, on the Isle of Wight

Not even the National

Lottery has brought

about the universal

happiness that the

service, Derek Lewis,

Government Imagined

protested that day-to-day interfer-

ence by the Home Office made his

A growing rift between the judi-

clary and the Government is also:

largely attributable to Mr Howard,

whose decisions were overturned

on at least eight occasions by the

courts, which ruled that he had.

either acted unfairly or exceeded

Twelve months ago, the peace

peared to be making headway but

thought, after President Clinton's

visit to Belfast at the beginning of

this month, would offer a realistic

way forward. The formula was sup-

posed to allow preparatory political:

talks to go ahead between the Northern Ireland parties and the

British and Irish governments while

a three-man international commis-

sion considered ways of decommis-

sloning illegally held arms.
The IRA, however, has since

ruled out any hand over of weapons

- he sacked the head of the prison

sadorial" role she seems to want.

party of high spending and high tax-

tax cuts, while 58 per cent wanted

year, blockeding harbours and demonstrating at airports against the export of live animals, particularly veal calves. One woman died when she fell under the wheels of a lorry. Since many of the demonstrators were elderly and otherwise law-abiding citizens, the police felt unable to deploy heavy-handed tactics and, instead, resorted to sheer force of numbers to contain them. It proved to be a costly operation,

The gay lobby was also active, "outing" Anglican clergymen and insisting on the right of homosexuals to serve in the armed forces. The courts rejected appeals for compensation by four, including a naval lieutenant-commander, who claimed to have been wrongfully dismissed from the services. Lord Justice Simon Brown expressed his sym-

> istry of Defence to review its rules. The four are now b to the House of Lords and, if defeated, will go to the European Court of Human Rights, arguing that their treatment is a breach of the European Convention. The Government may yet decide to change the rules before that happens.

pathy for them and urged the Min-

It was not a good year for the Anglican church which, besides losing some £80 million in property deals, is still seriously divided over the ordination of women, over homosexual clergy, and whether or not it is acceptable to "live in sin".

Sooner or later it will have to de-

progress". It could, of course, be just another piece of brinkmanship, but Mr Major is unlikely to relinquish his demand for the surrender of some arms as a "confidencebuilding" measure. The political talks are also more

likely to be serial monologues than real dialogue. David Trimble, new leader of the majority Ulster Unionists, has already rejected an invitation to talks in Dublin as "impudent". Ian Paisley, leader of the smaller Democratic Unionists, will only talk to the British government, and then only about his own proposals. Nor will he talk to George Mitchell, the American chairman of the disarmament commission, though all the other parties involved will.

A settlement, which would do much to enhance Mr Major's stature, and perhaps his party's fortunes, seems a long way off. Before then, the Scott inquiry will have published its report, almost certainly damaging to the Government, on Britain's sale of arms to Iraq in breach of its own embargo. Sufficient evidence has already been heard to show that some ministers were aware of the trade and, at the very least, turned a blind eye to it. What is worse is that they went to great lengths to cover up their incolvernent and were prepared, if necessary, to watch innocuot men sent to prison. It will not win them votes.

The "feel-good factor" did appear briefly on two occasions when the VE and VJ Day celebrations offered opportunities to recall national solidarity and success in battle. The opening of the Channel Tunnel was another mark of achievement. though diminished because revenue so far has been insufficient to cover the interest payments on Eurotunnel's £8 billion debt. The payments have been suspended for 18 months.

Even the National Lottery, now 13 months old, has not brought about the universal happiness that the Government envisaged. The scheme has certainly created a few more millionaires and its promoting consortium, Camelot, should be extremely happy with a weekly profit of £1 million, which enabled it to recover its start-up costs in months ather than years.

Many charities, however, have complained of a reduction in their raditional income, and pools promoters and bookmakers have shed hundreds of jobs. Nor is everyone happy with the way lottery profits are distributed: too much to the arts in London, too little to sports in the provinces, too much to some charities, too little to others. Camelot and the Government could only reply that everybody would benefit -

To add insult to injury, Richard Branson, the high-profile head of Virgin and a failed bidder to run process in Northern Ireland had apl the National Lottery, alleged that he vas offered a bribe to withdraw hi now it has stalled in spite of the . bid by Guy Snowden, chairman of "twin-track" formula which it was the American corporation GTech, which has a 22 per cent stake in

Drinkers had a better year. The Government reversed a century of efforts to curb drinking by setting a higher safe limit of units of alcohol per day. Protests over the move were headed by the World Health Organisation and some critics dubbed the review a "boozers' charter". Mr. Howard did his bit and allowed the pubs to stay open longer on Sundays And the Chancellor, Kenneth clare its position on the monarchy if and described the demand for sur- | Clark, cut the tax on whisky,



Rural racism is a little noticed but growing problem. Report by Jonathan Steele

T TOOK barely 24 hours for Middle England's newest scandal, the growth of rural racism, to slip behind the hedgerows again. The morning after white thugs jeered and threatened Paddy Ashdown on a late-night walk through Yeovil as he checked out stories of racist attacks, the Somerset town's Asian shopkeepers were happy to tell reporters about the abuse they regularly suffer. The next day it was frightened normality once more: 'No interviews, please. No names. We don't want to provoke them."

The victims' silence graphically illustrated the riddle which race relations workers like to try on strangers. Who is visible and invisible at the same time? Answer, black people living in England's villages and country towns.

"They are highly visible in that they stand out from the crowd and people in rural areas are not used to thinking of England as a muhi-ethnic community," says a report by the National Alliance of Women's Organisations. "They are invisible in terms of provision because they are small minorities."

Vishnu moved to Cornwall with his English wife 14 years ago. His life there has been a catalogue of abuse. Although he describes himself as an assertive man, he is unwilling - like the take-away owners in Yeovil - to have the restaurant he runs identified in print. He has enough trouble already with the gangs who tap heavily on the window. "You have to go out and see what's going on," he says. Then they often punch you. It's mainly yobbos who've got drunk and want a fight." The last such case was just over a month ago, but this random, racist violence has been frequent.

"At first I used to get gobsmacked-looks in the street, just like that. They'd not seen many black people in their lives before."

He usually reports the violence to the police but complains that "they take a very lackadaisical attitude. They have no training in racial awareness. They plead lack of funds, but do nothing because they want to keep the statistics of racial incidents low."

At the other end of the country, in small and pretty South Yorkshire village, Peter has an ugly story of constant racial harassment. His dark, Arab looks have proved too much for a neighbour who has kept up a sapping barrage of: "Fuck off back to where you came from." Four years of insults have put increasing strains on his marriage to an Englishwoman - and on his two school-age children.

Peter has taken his problems to the district council, but action under ordinary nuisance regulations is not easy; neighbours' disputes lead to shriigs, there are counter-allegations and proof is hard to find. Racial harassment is seen as a novelty in rural areas. Local authorities often refuse to accept the problem.

When Eric Jay, the author of a study on racism in the South-west, nolice forces and church leaders to ask for help, he found that "for threequarters of them, racial equality seems not to be on the agenda". Several respondents commented: "We have no black people," a statement which Jay calls racist - because it assumes that it is the presence of blacks which creates trouble.

The Jay report was published by he Commission for Racial Equality three years ago. Since then, there have been reports on Norfolk and Shropshire and on the Isolation of black and ethnic minority women in rucal areas.

Britain's ethnic minorities form 6.2 per cent of the population, but in



Suffering in silence, . . Women to attack minorities are often isolated in rural area

rural areas it is more like 1.6 per cent. The reports were the first steps at helping these scattered families. Racial Equality Councils have been set up in several shire counties and the National Council of Voluntary Organisations has appointed Perminder Dhillon to run a rural anti-racism project.

"Blacks and ethnic minorities are perceived as in-comers and not belonging," she says. The realisation that Britain has irreversibly become multicultural has not yet penetrated many rural areas. Ignorance is often rife. Ms Dhillon recalls a conference

the circumstances of Wayne

Douglas's death have almost

where a colleague stared at her sandalled feet and commented: "I didn't realise your soles are whiter than the rest of your skin."

Identity confusion also tends to be stronger where a black child may be the only one in its class. An Asian family fled from Wales after their 12year-old son scrubbed his arm with bleach in the hope of escaping from ersistent bullying.

Reports of rural prejudice deter many urban blacks from going to the country. "I don't feel safe going on holiday in a rural area in Britain. I'd rather go abroad." Perminder

Dhillon recalls one Asian man admitting. The Black Environment Network was set up to encourage young blacks from inner cities to visit the countryside, initially in organised trips to nature reserves or mountaineering. "People have to learn to enjoy the country before they can be asked to look after it." says Jakesh Mahey, its administrator. The irony is that many urban British blacks and Asians have parents who come from villages in the Indian subcontinent or the Caribbean. Yet rural British attitudes may turn this island into a green and unpleasant land for them,

The Archers, Britain's longest running radio soap, has taken on the subject, bringing an Asian woman solicitor, Usha, to Ambridge. Episodes this year have recounted stones being thrown through her windows and dog mess shoved through her letter box,

Newsy incidents, like the attack on Paddy Ashdown or the fate of Usha, highlight rural racism, but some believe they can also distort. "The Ambridge episodes manage to shift the blame from the local community to outsiders. They telescope racial violence into generalised vandalism and thuggery. By implication, racism has become a kind of virus which infects a few bad people who inhabit the city and roar around on motorbikes," says Jenny Bourne of the Institute of Race Relations.

"Nowhere in Ambridge do w hear of racism as an issue in society In a real-life Ambridge, its tarmers would worry that Usha would de press house prices, Kate would argue with the father that all father that all father grants were not scroungers, and Shula would try to stop Martha from scare-mongering that the shop was about to be taken over by Asians. Without argument between characters over racism, the resort to the benevolent saviour - the community of friends - is politically inept.

The big issue for Jenny Bourn and her fellow workers is the unpublicised drip-drip of racism in schools and at work. In the countryside, this meets less challenge.

three main proposals are for the

immediate suspension of any police officer in immediate contact

with a person who has died in

police custody; the institution of

an independent public inquiry;

and greater efforts towards the

Additional reporting by

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

Le Monde

Algeria's socialists ponder poll setback

Catherine Simon

HE big losers in the November 16 Algerian presidential election were the modernist parties, in particular Hocine Art Ahmed's Socialist Forces Front (FFS) which called for a boycott. Now they are wondering whether they will be able "to bounce back in time", as one of their activists said, or are to be condemned to a long exile in the political wilderness.

The fate of those who urged a boycott, the FFS in particular, was sealed by the high voter turnout. This is now giving rise to discussions inside the party. "The emptychair policy in the end always backfires on those who advocate it," noted an FFS member who disagreed with his party's decision.

Another said: "By not running in the presidential election, FFS general secretary Hocine Ait Ahmed passed up a unique opportunity." In his view, if the FFS had called on the political groups that took part in the January 13 Rome agreement — especially the National Liberation Front (FLN) and the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) - to support its candidates, it would have "given itself the means to test the sincerity of the Islamists' commitment to democracy and to cut short the FLN's ambiguities".

There is bitterness over what some FFS members see as a "terrible waste". They say things started to go wrong from the moment the Rome agreement was signed. One member claimed that by signing it we gave the FIS and the FLN a democratic cover. But we failed to go any further. We have given a lot and got nothing in return. When the government rejected the offer of peace, we should have drawn our conclusions from it. Instead of becoming uptight and digging in our sounded out the government's more 'enlightened' members and, in particular, worked on the modernists."

Did that mean going in with the Culture and Democracy Rally (RCD) of Ait Ahmed's Kabylie rival, Said Sadi? "The quarrels of zains [leaders] don't prevent the rank and file from campaigning together. Anyway, there's not only the RCD and the Kabylies, Labour union members, and women's and young men's associations are also part of

the modernist wing."
Unhappy with the line the FFS was taking, several of its officials moved away from it as early as last spring, some of them resigning and others suspending participation in party activities. "At the rate things are going," said one member with a sigh, "the FFS will soon be an empty shell with Air Ahmed's name writ large over the entrance." The stormy debates at the FFS national council meeting in early November testified to the prevailing mood of unease.

Though they are anxious to resolve the crisis, the party's appren tice dissidents are being careful. Those who speak out do so only on condition that they are not identified. However, even the most scathing critics say that a putsch is far from their thoughts. Although they complain about their leaders' far from democratic ways and accuse them of forcing their choices on members, they hope to be able to thrash everything out, but strictly

within the party in congress, Is this whilf of rebellion the beginning of a decline or a sign of greater maturity? The history of the FFS, which was founded 30 years ago, suggests the latter. The discipline that prevails, even among critics, points towards the latter. But if there is to be a resolution, it will be a long and painful process. Recent statements by the party's national secreheels, we should have opened up, I tary for emigration, Farid Aïssani,



Secret service . . . Hooded militiamen reinforce soldiers at an army ondblock in Bilda, 20 miles west of Algiers

saving that the November 16 election "reinforces the FFS In its approach", bode ill for a readiness t accept criticism.

Algeria's modernist movement still in its infancy and divided, is having a hard time asserting itself on the national scene. Sadi's low poll less than 10 per cent of the vote testifies to the difficulties. At least it will have helped him to put down his marker for the future and will allow the RCD to remain "visible".

There remains the question of voter motivation. A district-bydistrict analysis of the results shows the vote's regionalist character. "Ethnic" preferences prevailed over RCD, even in Algiers, were for the most part Kabylies.

It was primarily community solidarity that operated in the Kabylic, the stronghold of the FFS and the cradle of the RCD. The "Arabs" did the same in voting for Lianuae Zer-oual, who is from Batna in the east, and Mahloud Nahnah, a native of Blida. But by casting their ballots, they seized this totally new opportunity that allowed them to exercise their civic rights.

"Here in Algeria we're barely starting our apprenticeship in politics," said a veteran political activist. "Tomorrow, perhaps, we'll get round to democracy."

(December 9)

France presses Iraq on UN sanctions

Mouna Naîm

A LTHOUGH Iraq's attempts to get the West to ease the oil embargo are once again doomed to failure, Paris continues to press Baghdad to comply with the provisions of the United Nations re-

For the first time since 1990, a senior Quai d'Orsay official — Denis Bauchard, director of Middle Eastern affairs - went to Baghdad in mid-November to tell the Iraqi govrnment that strict compliance with the Security Council resolutions was the only way out of the current situation. He told the Iraqis that, contrary to their expectations. amending Resolution 986 - which allows Baghdad to sell oil under cer-

tain conditions — was unlikely. Bauchard also told Iraq that it should start being completely hon-est with the UN. Iraqi lies were revealed when two of Saddam Hussein's three sons-in-law defected to Jordan on August 8. One of them, General Hussein Kamel Hassan, was in charge of Iraq's military in-

By sending an official representative to Baghdad, France has taken a ceeds from the oil would have to be considerable risk. It could damage relations with the United States and Britain, both of which will not budge on the question of easing the oll embargo.
Both capitals, informed by Paris

of its initiative, have expressed their disapproval. But France has its own ideas on dealing with the Iraqi regime. It is convinced that if President Saddam is to be made to see reason, it must stick to its fundamental objectives. France believes that the need for

dialogue has become more urgent as the humanitarian situation in Iraq has deteriorated. Malautrition with food rations sufficient for only 40 per cent of the normal caloric intake - and the reappearance of diseases such as cholera, typhoid and malaria have increased the mortality rate, especially of children. and are exposing some categories of the

population to great risk.
Until now Baghdad has regarded Resolution 986 as an infringement of its sovereignty, particularly the two conditions attached to the sale

dispensed under close UN supervision. And second, that the Kurdish regions falling outside the Iraqi government's control would receive directly the share of aid allocated to them. This, Baghdad protests, would be tantamount to recognition of a de facto secession of these

What Iraq fears most is that accepting Resolution 986 would Indefinitely postpone Implementation of Security Council Resolution 627's Article 22, which provides for lifting the oil embargo once Baghdad has complied with the disarmament clauses. Iraq claims that it has fulfilled these conditions

But Rolf Ekeus, head of the UN special commission in charge of Iraqi disarmament, is still not satisfied. One expert said: "You can bet on the Americans doing everything they can to prevent application of Article 22,"

By sending Bauchard to Bagh dad, the Quai d'Orsay also wanted to distance itself from the host of French visitors - including promi-

nent politicians and others close to the government — who have been going to Baghdad and whose declarations are likely to cause confusion in the minds of Iraqi leaders, who might think that they are unofficial

One of the most recent visitors to the Iraqi capital was a former army chief of staff, General Jeannou Lacaze, who went there at the end of November accompanied by three senators (two of them members of the RPR, the senior partner in the ruling coalition). They were received by President Saddam

operation Association (Afice) - set up in July 1994 and whose chairperson is the RPR deputy for Maineet-Loire, Roselyne Bachelot — has obtained Baghdad's go-ahead to form "a committee for the constitution of a Franco-Iraqi chamber of commerce and industry".

Gilles Munier, general secretary of Afice, said that the new chamber of commerce would serve as an intermediary for the Franco-Arab Chamber of Commerce until that. body was able to resume its work in lraq.

(December 12).

Nine charged in Rwanda genocide case

Jean Hélène in Arusha, Tanzania

T EN months of investigating the mass killings that took place in Rwanda last year have led to the international court charging nine people with genocide. However, they are only local officials, who were involved in massacres that took place in April 1994 in the Kibuye prefecture. No senior officials of the previ-

ous regime are among the accused. The Kigali authorities have already conveyed their disappointment and, given the slowness of the process, may be wondering whether ustice will be done one day.

Announcing the first charges on December 12 at the headquarters of the international court in Arusha, Tanzania, the court clerk, Andronico Adede, pointed out that the names of the defendants and the countries in which they have found asylum would not be revealed, to prevent them from attempting to escape jus-

tice by dropping out of sight.
Why was Kibuye chosen from the hundreds of places where Hutuextremists massacred more than $500,\!000$ people — Tutsis and moderate Hutus - between April and July

According to Richard Goldstone. chief prosecutor of the UN War Crimes Tribunal, it is because "this s the first place where sufficient evidence has been collected to per mit framing charges".

Arrest warrants are expected to e sent out within two weeks to the governments of the countries where the eight accused are living. The authorities in these countries will be expected to arrest the accused and extradite them. Under Article 7 of the UN charter, which these nations have signed, UN member countries that allow suspects to enter their territory are expected to carry out

the court's injunctions. If they refuse, the matter will be referred to the Security Council, vhich could impose penalties. Goldstone estimates that in about six weeks' time the first of the accused could be brought to the Arusha prison, where a special wing has been prepared for them. The trials will not begin until April 1996, when construction of two special courtrooms at the Arusha international conference centre is expected to be completed.

A second round of charges is due to be filed in March against four Rwandans whom the Belgian authorities have arrested and six other suspects identified in Zambia — The France-Iraq Economic Co- | four of whom have already been arrested. Zambia has arrested a score of Rwandan Hutu refugees, no doubt on information supplied by Kigali, but the international court has not obtained enough evidence

to indict more than four of them. Kigali is disappointed because none of those who "masterminded" the genocide has been accused. Goldstone explained that trying the "henchmen" first was a good way of establishing a link with the organisers at the top. This was how the big war criminals in the former Yugoslavia were tracked down, he said.

(December 14)

Life after the anger in Brixton

Michael Massive argues that in the wake of the disturbances police must face up to local criticism

THERE'S nowt so queer as folk. Different people have different views of the same incident. Let us regard the headline in the Daily Mail on December 14 which read, "Brixton mob on rampage". The article began: "Hundreds of riot ers rampaged through Brixton last night, looting shops and black youth in custody.

As someone who was actually in the vicinity at the start of the incident. I saw something that contradicted various press reports. Many people moving around the area who were caught up in traffic diversions merely saw a mass mobilisation of police officers. Some local people regarded the incident as a police riot and described the police action as "the invasion of an army of occupation".

To many, the death of Wayne Douglas in a Brixton police cell

earlier this month was far more deserving of front-page outrage than the smashing of a few com-mercial shop windows — but that would be down to their subective opinion and their own erception of what they believed had taken place during the arrest of Mr Douglas.

Wayne Douglas was the third tody over the past 12 months The cases of Shiji Lapite and Brian Douglas (no relation) also ed outrage among ondon's black community. On these occasions the public lemonstrations which followed the deaths did not exacerbate into confrontations with the police: therefore, apart from a ew newspapers, notably the Guardian and some of the black weekites and leftwing periodicals, these deaths passed without much mainstream tension.

Following the disturbances,

his arrest allege that no fewer than 17 police officers were seen to be striking, kicking and racially abusing a handcuffed and captive Mr Douglas as they dragged him to a van. Within one hour Wayne Douglas was dead.

Many people are critical of the police for having ordered an autopay without first establishing contact with Mr Douglas's are, none of this seems to have been picked up by the tabloids. Indeed, the calls that were forwarded to my desk from reporters on the Star and the Mail came from experienced journalists who claimed they were not even aware that a man had died in a London police station the week before the riots.

This type of attitude has led many members of the black community — and also many white residents of Britain's inner cities — to believe that we live in two different worlds. One white.

privileged and middle class, which is understandably out-raged at the knifing and callous murder of London headmaster Philip Lawrence but which has almost forgotten the similarly tragic circumstances under which his namesake Stephen Lawrence, an 18-year-old black male, was brutally killed two years ago. On occasion these worlds appear to come into conflict with one another: but it would seem that, rather than using the opportunity to sit around a table and have a reasonable debate, many people attempt to apportion blame to an

No one denies that the British constabulary has an increasingly difficult task in protecting and serving the public. What many people believe, however, is that there are police officers who seem less committed than the vast majority of their peers to eradicating crime from our

streets rather than pursuing a separate and corrupt agenda. In the wake of Mr Douglas's death, the most salient points that have arisen involve calls for a new policy for dealing with deaths in police custody. The

establishment of local consults tion groups which would increase accountability of police officers to the local communit which they purport to serve. Sir Paul Condon's response to the reports of the disturbances in Brixton seem to be misguided. Many eyewitnesses who claim that the actions of police officers on duty in the area diwere not disgruntled anarchists their comments were the obser-

making their way home from leisure or work-related activities The Metropolitan police chief must take on board some of the criticisms that are made in regard to the behaviour of officers in charge. The fingerpointing mus stop, and someone in authority needs to be large enough to accept some degree of culpability

vations of law-abiding citizens

Michael Massive is news editor of the Carlbbean Times

Michel Guerrin on an exhibition of the great German photographer, August Sander

N 1927, when he was at the height of his powers. August

Sander wrote a brief profession of faith that was to influence generations of photographers: "If, in all consciousness, I have the presumption to see things as they are and not as they should or might be, pray excuse me, but I cannot do otherwise.

Truth, exactitude and faithfulness were the inalienable qualities that guided the work of one of the greatest photographers and portraitists of all time. Sander (1876-1964) lived through two world wars. He experienced the horrors of the Third Reich, and his first book of photographs was banned by the Nazis.

He lived through some of the most decisive developments in the history of photography, from pictorialism to Neue Sachlichkeit (New Objectivity). He accumulated an impressive number of prizes and medals.

From the turn of the century on, Sander pulled off the rare double achievement of being able to earn a living from his photographs and producing work that turned out to be an enduring record of his time.

His portraits were revolutionary in their precision. In them, the sitter usually male and often described in archetypal terms (peasant, locksmith, pastrycook and so on) — is only one element of the image: equal importance is often placed on anything from the subject's pose. clothes, haircut, job attributes or home to such accessories as a dog on a lead or a cigarette.

That is why Sander has mainly been identified with the large-scale documentary record of Germany on which he embarked at the beginning of the twenties under the ambitious title of People Of The Twentieth Century. What he was trying to do was paint a portrait of mankind through representative portraits of various socio-professional categories.

The pictures he took between 1910 and 1950 are now on show at



High-School Boy by August Sander (1926)

the Centre National de la Photogra-phie in Paris. This exhibition of originals, which was assembled by the Sander Archives in Cologne, has already been seen in Moscow, Tokyo and Bonn, and will later go on to Pride of place in the exhibition has

naturally been given to Sander's portralts. They include such celebrated pictures as the Bricklayer's Mate, who carries a hodful of bricks on his

shoulders, and Young Peasants On Their Way To A Dance, where three farmers in their Sunday best, wearing hats and carrying walking sticks, have paused on a country path to turn and stare at the camera. But there are also landscapes, still lifes, flowers, montages and views of sec-

ond world war ruins. The hanging of the exhibition

ceedings begin with country folk. original matrix out of which the rich spectrum of mankind was to grow, and continue with craftsmen, industrialists, workers, society ladies, doctors, chemists, aristocrats, politicians, painters, servants, political orisoners, the sick, and the dying.

Yet one is left with the feeling that the exhibition has not done justice to Sander. This is above all due to the absence of many of his most famous pictures — of a Cologne no-

tary, a village schoolteacher, gypsies, circus artistes, a fancy dress ball in Cologne, revolution aries and portraits of the painters Gottfried Brockmann and Antor Raderscheidt, the Dadaist Raoul Hausmann, the wife of the painter Peter Abelen and the communis Erich Mühsam.

Even more disturbing is the fact that Sander's breathtaking series of pictures of beggars, blind children Nazis and persecuted Jews are also either absent or seriously underrepresented.

What is on offer is a disturbingly watered-down sample of the photog rapher's work. His main aim, which was to show up the contrast be tween classes, the fractures of society and the impending chaos of the thirties, have been glossed over. What is left is a chocolate-box image of Germany, whereas Sander painted a ruthless portrait of a country in the grip of Nazism.

The exhibition set out to be a comprehensive retrospective, yet drew solely on one source, the Sander Archives. These are controlled by the photographer's heir, who can think of only one thing: how to protect the image of his illus-

The organisers of the exhibition had no choice but to co-operate with the archives, which contain 4,000 original prints and 10,770 glass negatives, even though there are numerous remarkable prints — absent from the show - in many museums, such as the Getty Museum, or n private hands.

The hanging is also debatable: i restricts itself to a succession of pictures arranged by theme, when only a chronological presentation could have revealed the true significance of Sander's oeuvre, shown how his aesthetic approach evolved, and il- | Until January 31

lustrated the great watershed of the second world war, which resulted in Sander being forced to restrict himself to landscapes.

One of the most fascinating aspects of Sander is his struggle to achieve visual truthfulness, the way he eschewed the affected aestheti cism of pictorialism, and the influence of his upbringing, tastes, beliefs and judgments on his attempt to cast a lucid eye on German society.

Sander's caring attitude towards those who had been underprivileged by or excluded from society, his complicity with the intellectual world, his compassion for the disabled, the ferocious way he portrayed the great and the good, and the cruelty of his vision of young Nazis were patently evident in his photographs. That is why they were loathed by the Third Reich, which censored them.

ANDER the carpenter's son Sexplained why his People Of The Twentieth Century opened with a chapter devoted to country people: The characters come from Westerwald, where I was born: the human beings I had known since my youth down to their smallest idiosyncrasy seemed to me, because of their very links with the natural environment, the people who could embody my conception in an overall study.

Sander was an artist whose influ ence extended well beyond the field of photography. Contemporary painters conducted a dialogue with him through their works. Wellknown photographers such as Diane Arbus and Richard Avedon and the film-maker Wim Wenders cite him as a key influence.

Like the pioneering French pho-tographer Eugène Atget, Sander produced an oeurre that lies at the meeting-point of two worlds, two centuries and two genres — art and

(November 17)

August Sander, Centre National de la Photographie, Hôtel Salomon de Rothschild, Parls, Closed Tuesday, Until January 22. Also now showing in Paris is the exhibition August Sander et Cologne, Goethe Institut, Paris. Closed Saturday and Sunday.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

Cambodia Slides Back Into Violence

Keith B. Richburg in Phnom Penh

NEWSPAPER editor is A gunned down in broad day-light. A grenade is tossed into a Buddhist temple, wounding 50 supporters of the political opposition. Troops and tanks appear in the streets as a show of force against a prominent critic of the government. The ex-Communist co-prime minister orders his newly formed private army to destroy his enemies, whom he likens to "worms."

Cambodia has been widely touted as a success story - a model of global peacemaking in the post-Cold War world. The United Nations spent close to \$3 billion trying to break the cycle of tragedy.

But today, two years after U.N.sponsored elections were supposed to have ushered in a new era of democracy and economic recovery. Cambodia appears to be sliding back to its familiar pattern of political violence, assassination and re-

During the presence of the massive U.N. mission, the country wit-nessed a brief flowering of open democracy, with political parties forming, dozens of newspapers appearing on the streets, and new groups launched to monitor human

"The expectation was that Cambodia under the aegis of the United Nations had been cured and was on the road to liberal democracy," one foreign resident said. "But when you step back and look at it, the idea that little Cambodia with all its tragic problems would suddenly become the most democratic country n Asia was totally unrealistic."

The current rulers - led by the former Communists installed dur-ing the decade-long Victnamese occupation — are trying to establish a new dictatorship, according to many Cambodians, human-rights groups and some Western diplomats.

Although the country is largely peaceful, with the Khmer Rouge guerrillas reduced to making smallscale attacks, the government appears bent on silencing all opposition and talks of staying in power until 2010. Critics accuse the



of the Cambodian "success story." "Cambodian democracy is in free fall now," said Lao Mong Hay. director of the Klimer Institute for

Democracy. "The countries that cosigned the international agreements are our safety net. Whether democracy will fall through that safety net to the floor and be killed remains to

Many Cambodians express particular disappointment with the United States, widely seen as a champion of human rights and democracy. But the U.S. Embassy has for the most part remained silent about the mounting, documented cases of abuse of the gov-

seemly silence, protecting the myth | ment in Cambodia is not human rights or democracy," said Alimad Yahya, a Cambodian member of parliament who holds an American passport. "The interest of the U.S. government is stability . . . They don't put pressure on the leadership, because they want to work closely with it and see that the country has stability."

The United States provided about \$50 million in aid to Cambodia for the 1995 fiscal year, an embassy spokesman said, including money to rebuild the road to the port at Sihanoukville, support for democratic institutions and \$5 million in emergency food aid.

A House-backed proposal ernment's opponents.

"The interest of the U.S. govern- nation trading status is being held up in the Senate, where Sen. William V. Roth, R-Del., has expressed concern over the mounting evidence of human-rights abuse.

Cambodia was not supposed to turn out this way. After two decades of turmoil and bloodshed - the 1970 military coup, the 1975 takeover by the radical Communist Khmer Rouge, the horror of the genocide that followed, then Vietnam's 1978 invasion and decadelong occupation - Cambodia at last seemed ripe for recovery.

The fractious, Western-backed resistance coalition signed a 1991 peace accord in Paris with the Communist regime, and that cleared the way for the dispatch of thousands of U.N. troops to separate the warring parties and organize elections.

That 1991 pact also committed all factions to establish a pluralistic, multi-party democracy that would guarantee human rights. The United States was one of the main players in achieving the agreement.

The elections took place in 1993. Cambodia became a constitutional monarchy, with Norodom Sihanouk returning to the throne he lost in 1970. The political party that Sihanouk created, the royalist Funcinpec led by his son, Norodom Ranariddh, came out ahead of the ex-Communists in the voting.

As far as the world could tell hen, Cumbodia was a success: The "good guys" won, and the United Nations departed.

And that is when the problems began. Ranariddh agreed to form a coalition government with the ex-Communists, restyled as the Cambodian People's Party, who finished a close second in the balloting.

The two parties agreed to share everything, splitting ministries and naming "co-ministers." At the time, the power-sharing arrangement was seen as a novel recipe for political

But the ex-Communists never really relinquished administrative con-trol, not in the ministries and not at the district and village level.

The People's Party's control is perhaps most pronounced in the police and security units, which have been blamed for most of the attacks on opposition politicians and their supporters, and on journalists.

> some priests. In the early 1990s activists began o meet and discuss ways of liberat-

> The priests set up small-business and employment agencies. They wrote Pope John Paul II letters urg-

operates an anti-drug program, received a message in the form of a bloody lamb's head on his doorstep. A note pinned to it said, This is how you'll end up."

traditional links to Mafia families ical people. Their instincts are far and their funding, oppose anti-Mafia activism. Prosecutors are investigat-

Dialogue between different mediums

Philippe Dagen on the parallels between painters and photographers under the Weimar Republic

HE painter Otto Dix said of L his own work: "I wanted to show things as they really are." The photographer August Sander defined his aim as follows: "Let me tell the truth honourably about our time and its human beings." In his clean, neutral style

Sander photographed Dix, his wife Martha and their daughter. Dix did not paint Sander's portrait, but his pictures of the twenties and thirties do, like Sander's photographs, offer a complete inventory of contemporary German society.

Both men sought out figures who would embody a profession, a social class or a passion. There are countless parallels between their works. You need only to huxtanose Dix's 1924 portrait of his parents with one of Sander's

photographs of elderly peasant couples for the similarities leap to the eye: there is the same frontal composition, the same insistent presence of clothing, the same detailed description of hands and faces.

To achieve this, Dix relied on meticulous pictorial craftsman-ship, which he inherited from the German Primitives, and Sander on light effects. Their methods differed, but their purpose was the same, namely Neue Sachlichkeit.

Up to that time, painters and photographers had tended to observe each other at arm's length. The former suffered from both a superiority complex and an anxiety complex, while the latter were envious and ambitious.

Which discipline was going to win the day — photography, with its mechanical and objective images, or painting, with its approximate and subjective images? In the twenties, Neue Sachlichkeit readdressed the question — and solved it simply by rejecting it. As Sander said:



Sander: 'Let me tell the truth honourably about our time'

"Photography has given us possibilities and tasks that are dif-

ferent from those of painting."
Those possibilities include speed of execution, the instant portability of the camera anywhere in town or countryside, and the irrefutable accuracy of the photographic image (as long as it is not touched up).

But when it comes to describing and analysing society, the two approaches are not in competition. On the contrary, they provide each other with mutual support and justification. Sander the entomologist pro-

vided an exhaustive picture of every species of human insect, and embarked on what he called "a subtle hunt" for subjects not only deep in the Rhineland countryside, but in the salons and slums of Cologne. Dix, who adored monstrous subjects, selected the most remarkable examples of them and, through the intensity of his drawing and colour, elevated them to the level of archetype.

The dialogue between the two disciplines as defined by Neue Sachlichkeit extended beyond the parallels between Dix and Sander, Karl Blossfeldt not only photographed plants but studied them with the same manic attention as a botanist. The resulting black-and-white prints are remi niscent of oils by the painter

Fritz Burmann. There are similarities between the photographic work of Hans Finaler and drawings of Rudolf

Dischinger or Karl Hubbuch, whose Swimmer In Cologne recalls views of that city taken by Sander from the steel bridge over the Rhine.

As for the portraitists who influenced Sander and Dix, they include, in addition to Max Beckmann of course, George Grosz, Christian Schad, Rudolf Schlichter, Conrad Felixmüller and Anton Räderscheidt.

It so happens that Räderscheidt was one of Sander's favourite models. He posed in Sander's photographs in virtually the same way as he did in his own self-portraits, so it is impossible to tell who influ enced whom. But in any case it is probably less relevant to talk of influence than of an interplay of intentional and well-thoughtout correspondences. (November 17)

Le Monde

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Baby Boomers' Challenge to the Media Richard Harwood stones of middle age, the newspa-

CHERYL RUSSELL, writing in American Demographics magadue, alerts us to a forthcoming media extravaganza commencing on January 1, 1996. That is the date on baby boomers turn 50." By year's end, 3.4 million will have reached t age, and by the year 2005 baby the population aged 50 to 74.

cause there are so many of them, because they are a generation "entirely unlike older generations of

scious and understandable interest in delineating how far they have come and where they are going now.

This is the time in their when they are concerned about putting kids through college, the time when a lot of divorces are likely which "the first 7,745 of 78 million | to occur, the time when they are at or nearing the peak of their earning worry more about their careers and boomers will represent a majority of their health, the time to start thinking about retirement and their post-We can thus expect, for a variety retirement lifestyles. Many of them, of reasons, cover stories and intro- alas, will have thoughts of death as spective essays galore. The boomers they encounter high blood pressure. already are the most celebrated gen-eration in our history. That is be-watch their parents and growing numbers of their contemporaries pass on to the great beyond.

They are the first generation to Americans," Russell writes, "both in have grown up with television, and atitudes and lifestyles" and because have become the most affluent and the ringmasters of the media are educated cohort of Americans in

pers have a particular interest in them as customers. We are holding our breath in the hope that with the graying of this generation they and their children will find that newspapers are as relevant to their lives as older generations had done. We worry, too, that the "negativism"

turned them off.

People with the most money and education buy the most newspapers. The boomers rank high on both counts and buy more newspapers than other age groups. But measured in terms of household penetration, the numbers are not encouraging. Thirty years ago, more than 80 percent of Americans 35 to 54 read a paper on a weekday;

the percentage today is 65 percent. The attitudes of the boomers themselves boomers with a self-con- history. As they reach these mile- may have something to do with populace at large,

this. They are the first generation of the "post-industrial" era, an era in which many of the old certifudes of American life have been shaken by social and economic upheavals, including a loss of status and economic position by the middle class and by corrosive racial and gender divisiveness. This seems to have produced among the boomers widespread cynicism and distrust toward almost all of the institutions of our society, the media included.

However, they retain a good deal of the idealism and optimism of earlier days. This is especially true of journalists in the national media. Their work may not always show it. but a majority, according to a Times-Mirror pollsters report published this year, believe that public officials in Washington, corporate executives, clergymen and military leaders are basically honest and ethless negative than the public would have it and far less negative than the ing officials in the Palermo diocese

Priests Teach Youths to Say No to Mafia

Daniel Williams in Palermo

THE Revs. Paolo Turturro and Gino Sachetti, Roman Catholic priests and anti-Mafia crusaders, live lives of dangerous irony. As prison chaplains, they minister to Mafia convicts, try to get them to go straight and occasionally do them small favors, such as carrying messages to relatives and lawyers.

But each man is also a kind of prisoner. Outside jail, they relentlessly urge youths to reject orga-nized crime and the Mafia's hold on impoverished neighborhoods. For this work, they have earned the unforgiving hostility of local crime bosses and therefore must work. walk and travel under armed escort supplied by the Italian army.

"I constantly get threatening mes sages from the Malia. Basically, they say I am a walking cadaver." said Turturro, a white-haired priest in the Borgo Vecchio neighborhood of Palermo. "It is hard to get used

"I can't even go get a cup of coffee without my escort," said Sachetti, who works in Termini lmerese, a port town 20 miles east of Palermo.

They are two of a handful of priests who are battling Mafia influence in Palermo, the capital of the Cosa Nostra, as organized crime in Sicily is known.

All the activist priests have been hreatened with death. The messages are as diverse as a simple leter or a car set on fire. A dozen live under constant military guard. A few others have abandoned Palermo for more tranquil posts on the Italian peninsula.

The role of organized-crime fighter is a new one for the Catholic Church in Sicily. Once it was a passive observer that, like many individual Italians, regarded the Mafin as a folkloric if sometimes dangerous phenomenon somehow rooted in the culture of Sicily.

The growth of the drug trade, ever more violent inter-clan wars. and attacks on police and prosecutors during the past 15 years made the church's passivity intolerable to

ing neighborhoods from Mafia control. It is an uphill battle. Unemployment in parts of Palermo and Sicily approaches 50 percent. Steady income is a major attraction - even if it comes from crime.

sponded in 1993 by calling the Mafia "the work of the devil." Shortly afterward Sachetti, who

But not all priests are involved in the battle, and there are whispers that certain bishops, who maintain of Monreale for Mafia connections.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

John Milton Wesley

writes on the legacy of a

lynching that took place

in a little Mississippi town

Computer Hackers Target the Web

Elizabeth Corcoran

 ○ OMPUTER hackers are turning their unwelcome attentions to the World Wide Web, the fastexpanding branch of the Internet where individuals and organizations make electronic words, pictures and sounds available to people all over the global network.

Web "sites" are among the easiest places on the Internet to disrupt and sabotage, experts say, in part because many people who set up such displays pay little attention to security. Even more problematic is that one of the catchiest features of the Web actually makes security breaches easier: some Web sites encourage people to electronically

send them messages and comments. That can leave the site open to digital interlopers in the same way a homeowner who leaves open a basement window for the cat is vulnerable. Although no one likes to admit

being hit by cyber-sabotage, a few incidents have surfaced: Q A day or two after the Million Man March in Washington, the Web site of the Nation of Islam was altered. The intruders rewrote text

on the site, peppering it with racist

☐ MGM-United Artists' Web site advertising the movie Hackers was hacked. A couple of weeks before

"chat" with others using the site or to | stored at the site, along with a few choice words.

Computer News Daily, a Web site ponsored by the New York Times Syndicate that features articles from more than a dozen publications, was receiving 60,000 "hits," or visits from several thousand people a day. In mid-August people trying to fetch articles from the site found it had become frustratingly slow. Someone had gummed up the site by bombarding it with endless streams of irrelevant messages.

The World Wide Web is a network of linked computers. On them, individuals post colorful personalized material - photographs, stothe film's debut, digital vandals left | ries, favorite sayings are common spray-paint-like graffiti on images | — that web users all over the world

can call up onto their screens. Companies and organizations place ma terial about products or purposes.

Individuals typically pay an online service company to maintain the material for them on their computers, where it exists as magnetic impulses stored electronically, awaiting a command from a distant computer to send it for viewing.

There are no sure-fire ways to ensure safety, experts caution. But people setting up Web sites should familiarize themselves with basic computer security measures. They should ask the service company that maintains the Web site its safeguards against intruders. Those who develop a Web site should keep a close eye on it for unwanted intru-

But for now, "web sites are generally less protected than other parts of the Internet," said Peter Tipnett. oresident of the National Computer ecurity Association, a consulting irm in Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

More experienced Internet users might recognize that any computer that hooks into the Internet can eave itself open to cyber-sabotage Those with interactive features such as e-mail or chat are more at risk.

But there isn't a lot of discussion i sabotage. Some people believe the sites are so easy to break into they present little challenge for computer hackers seeking a thrill Others say no one wants to admit heir site was invaded. The incidents have to be handled delicately because once there's blood in the water, it excites the sharks," said Richard Power, a senior analyst with Computer Security Institute, a

Confucius Says: Go East, Young Man

Many Asians now think their values are better than 'the American way', writes T. R. Reld

HE ASIAN leaders gathered in Osaka last month for the annual Asian-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit expressed pious regrets that Bill Clinton had to cancel his attendance

At some level, though, they were probably delighted. The image of a US president trapped in Washington by political chaos surrounding a red-ink budget can only strengthen the Asians growing superiority complex toward the once-revered USA. Many Asian politicians, scholars and business leaders are proudly proclaiming these days that there is an ocean of difference in basic social values across the Pacific. They have decided that the Western, democratic, Judeo-Christian value structure, with its emphasis on the primacy of the individual - in short, "The American Way" - is fundamentally different from the Eastern, group-oriented, vaguely Confucian cultural pattern that is now proudly labeled "The Asian Way." And it's not just that the values are different. Rather, these their cultural values are better than

Many Western societies -- including the United States - are doing some major things fundamentally wrong today, while a great number of East Asian societies are doing the same things right," argues Kishore Mahbubani, a Singaporean scholar and diplomat who has emerged as the Max Weber of this new "Confucian Ethic." In an endless series of articles and lec- the number of channels on your TV. ticulate Mahbubani tells his fellow sinking" and that a strong dose of those TV channels, then our Asian Confucian, values is needed to set | societies have the higher standard." things right. "If Americans were to | That gets to the core of the Neotry to begin learning from Asians, their nation would become a better place." Even in Japan, most Westernized of the Asian nations, there is a movement to turn back East. "By following the insights of Confucianism," insists the Japanese acadexpense of society as a whole, other Western concoction) was apended intentioned activism. But some tion in ideas."

falling the West, the result of cenegotism." Americans, still patting hemselves on the back for winning the Cold War, may not be ready just yet for another global ideological struggle over first principles. But an increasingly wealthy and confident East Asia is eager to engage us in a debate that raises direct challenges to cherished Western ideals.

Fueling the notion of "Asia Good, merica Bad" is the palpable sense of social and economic well-being sweeping over East Asia. Overall, the Asian members of APEC have much higher economic growth rates than the Western democracies coupled with much lower rates of unemployment, violent crime, drug use, broken homes, welfare dependency and other detritus of Euro-American society.

From Kuala Lumpur to Kawasaki, people cite the 1994 World Bank report that sought to predict which countries would be the richest on earth a quarter-century from now. In that ranking, four of the five top 10, are Asian. The United States, the world's richest nation today, is projected in second place in the year 2020, between China and

Economic statistics can go up and

"You Americans have this mantra

democracy. gument runs; they have gone too far to indulge individual freedom at the

down, of course — just ask Japan, yesterday's Asian Superman, now allowing in extended recession. But Asia's current crop of Neo-Confucians look more at social indicators than economic statistics.

about your high standard of living," Mahbubani told me once, soft-spoken and amiable even as he plunged the rhetorical dagger. "And yes, if standard of living means the number of square feet in your home, or tures bearing titles like "The Dan- | America leads the world. But if stangers of Decadence" and "Go East, | dard of living means not being | East", a place called "Asia", is a mod-Young Man", the engaging and ar- afraid to go outside that home after ern Western invention, dreamed up dark, or not worrying about what by European geographers and Asians that "the American boat is fifth your children will see on all traders.

Confucian case against Western .The free nations of Europe and America are simply too free, the ar- | a wide range of interpretations.

American democracy, the names that come up are not Washington or Jefferson, but rather Tonya Harding, Howard Stern, the Menendez brothers and the Michigan Militia.

0

Naturally, the Neo-Confucianists are encouraged to see Americans agreeing with them on some points. When Mahathir complains that Abolition of religious instruction in (public) schools has resulted in a loss of direction," he is singing a chorus right out of Pat Robertson"s

One of the nicer ironies of the Neo-Confucian boom is that this rows its most basic concept from Western thought.

The very existence of a "Far

If the geography underpinning the Neo-Confucian boom is a tad ambiguous, the same can be said for the basic philosophy. As with the ancient prophets of other cultures. Confucius and his ideas are open to

The great sage Kung Fu-tzu (that Latinate name .. "Confucius" is an-

about him in Chou dynasty China of the 5th Century BC He taught that the remedy for broad social ills lay in individual dedication to basic

The Confucian virtues, as they are generally described nowadays, nclude thrift, hard work, honoring he family unit and obeying the law. There is also a deep commitment to education, to pass along these virtues and other necessary skills.

At at least two points in the Confucian canon, the master declares that the most important single guide to life can be found in the term sku. Confucius defines it this way: "Do not impose on others what you do ing was a key element in South not want done to yourself." To any | Korea's dramatic switch to democ

In their contempt for Western ways, however, the Neo-Confucianists insist that the teachings of their ancient Chinese ancestor involve a unique set of values. Even that Con- ists are convinced that their cultural fucian statement of The Golden pattern is preferable, and they want Rule is "different in a subtle way," argues Katsuta, the Japanese academician. The Confucian Golden Rule is stated in the negative, he notes. "Confucius thus advocated tolerance," . Katsuta . maintains. "The

times well-meaning people are importunate and self-righteous . . . Western individualism leads to a clash of egos that will destroy tolerance." Katsuta has Westerners in nind when he denounces intolerance and self-righteousness. In fact, though, the world capital of selfrighteousness at the moment may well be the tidy, industrious and thoroughly intolerant city-state of Singapore, a place tightly controlled by Lee Kuan Yew's personal clique of self-styled Neo-Confucians. Lee charges that American

have abandoned an ethical basis for society" -- and he's not about to let the same thing happen on his island. Thus police keep watch from the rooftops of Singapore to catch people committing such crimes as littering or chewing gum. Parents of school children deemed to be over weight receive letters ordering them to change the family menus. The government tells people how much of their money to save.

If this is The Asian Way, mos people would probably be happy to du without it. But many Neo-Confu cianists say Lee's Singapore is a gross perversion of the sage's teaching. These critics say that autocrats like Lee and Malaysia's Mahathir have appropriated Confucius as a high-minded rationale for maintaining personal power.

Confucianism need not necessarily involve the spic-and-span authoritarianism of Singapore, South Korea, a bulwark of Confucian learning to this day, is a noisy, dirty. rumbunctious nation where people not only chew gum on the streets but do many more offensive things there as well. But Koreans furiously deny that they are less Asian than Lee Kuan Yew.

"Lee's view of Asian culture is not only unsupportable but also self-serving," charges Kim Dae Jung, the veteran South Korean politician who risked his life repeatedly opposing military dictators in his own country.

Kim insists that dissent and democracy are cherished Confucian ideals, and that the master's teach veteran of Sunday school, of course, this is simply The Golden Rule. racy in 1987. In short, proponents of the Asian Way are hazy about which direction their Way is headed. In Asia, though, the most important point is that it is not The American Way. The Neo-Confucian-

to whole world to know it. "For the past several hundred years, the world has been dominated by Greek and Judeo-Christian ideas," Kim Dae Jung wrote re-cently. "Now it is time for the world Christian rule encourages well to turn to Asia for another revolu-

where blacks didn't have to sit in the balcony. We imagined dancing to Little Anthony and the Imperials singing "Shimmy, Shimmy Coco Bop," and slow dragging to Smokey Robinson and the Miracles crooning "You Really Got a Hold On Me."

We believed that up North there HE BUILDING still stands at We believed that up North there was no color line. We believed that the intersection of Weber Street and Highway 19W in olacks only had to stay in their place Ruleville, Mississippi. The gas in the South, in Mississippi, After pumps are gone, and so is the red all, we had our stories too. Our stokerosene tank from which we ries were of people who left the fields on Friday and disappeared pumped a quarter's worth of "coal oil" for wood stoves, barbecue pits without a trace by Monday mornand lamps. The old occupants are ing. Somehow we knew that if they gone, too, along with any sign of didn't show up in jail, they would surface in Chicago. We also knew how, 40 years ago, they damaged the psyche of every young African they would return one day talking American male in the nation. proper," the men with "processed The current residents of what hairdos, loud-colored suits and was once Michelle's Grocery are pointed-toed shoes. If they made it real big, they would be driving a Cadillac. Such was the mystique of African American. That would not be so surprising, were it not for the tenants who once lived above the the flight north; the myth of the store. The Michelles treated African black exodus to the promised land. Americans with respect and fair-To us, Chicago boys like Emmett ness. Their children played with us.

Till relished their ability to dazzle us During the early 1950s we shared with their lack of fear of white peobirthday parties and make-believe ple. It never occurred to us at the swims in shallow plastic pools in the time that they always made these store's backyard. All the while Mrs. boasts when there were no white Michelle cranked out home made folks around to challenge them. We ice cream, popped popcorn and kept could only marvel at what we imagan eye out for bad guys who might ined their lives must be like in a suddenly come upon children of difplace where your seat on the bus ferent colors innocently enjoying was determined not by the color of your skin but by the availability of a vacant seat. To the children of the the store changed hands. To us, the Mississippi Delta, Emmett Till was children of that sleepy town north of Marco Polo, who had gone to the Jackson, it was the closing of a safe New World and returned this sum-

For nothing had prepared us for the characters who would somehow come to life in our mirlst. The new owners were I. W. Milam and his half-brother, Roy Bryant. Milam had admitted that he and Roy had lynched Emmett Till, fear of white people the 14-year-old black youth from Chicago who was accused of whistling at a white female.

Only a few of us had ever seen Emmett Till. He was one of those kids who came from "up North" every summer to join us in the cotton flekls. Not because they had to, or needed the money, or the grass sacks filled with government-Issue cheese, powdered milk, meal and flour, but because they needed a break from the hustle and bustle of urban life.

After old man Jack Michelle died.

port in a sea of bigotry, racism,

apartheid, segregation and cotton.

being children.

Emmett stood out among the Chicago boys because he talked continuously, seemed mature for his age, wore a straw hat, had funnylooking, light-colored eyes and all the girls thought he was cute. Like other black boys who came from up North he could keep us spellbound with stories of white girlfriends, the forbidden fruit. After all, they were our masters because they were white, regardless of their ages. Even our parents and grandparents called white children mister and miss. It was custom. In our minds, the thought of referring to a white DDI as a girlfriend or or his family for retaliation from the face to face with this horrible truth. Ku Klux Klan, or from anyone who was white and aware of the thought, comment or rumor.

Look magazine that the Chicago boys carried in cheap plastic wallets. We believed they were real. photos of girlfriends, and that up North you could have a white girlirlend and it was okay. We imagined was a place of alcohol, tobs racial bilss, and integrated movies sip, rumors and pathos.

mer to let us know what to expect. Chicago boys relished their ability to dazzle us with their lack of

But in August 1955 things would change forever, and this Marco Polo would never return alive, and no black boy would ever think of his world the same way again. We had heard rumors of black

men being beaten and even lynched for reasons most people would think absurd. Still, we were beguiled by stories of black boys with white girlfriends. Real or imagined, the notion of a white female speaking intimately to a black man or encouraging him to touch her was a fantasy. The more stories we heard from Chicago boys, the more we belleved that maybe we were reading the signals wrong. Perhaps white females really did want to be with us intimately. Perhaps all girls were the same, regardless of color. Maybe if we acted a little less scared we too could have white girlfriends and earn bragging rights. Never mind the admonition always present in our minds, that in Mississippi such an offense was punishable by

course, "upstanding" white citizens We had no idea that on August | of our community - they were arboyfriend could mark a black child 28, 1955, Emmett Till would come rested by local authorities. They admitted abducting and beating It all began at a general store in Money, a one-horse town not far him. Five white lawyers volunteered from the Tallahatchie River. This to represent the brothers, and an all-

Yet we were always intrigued by wallet-size photographs from Life or loads of cotton choppers and pick- Later, in a paid interview with the state police, sheriffs, deputies and loads of cotton choppers and pick- Later, in a paid interview with the ers. We went there for lunch at noon time to buy pork 'n' beans, sardines, cinnamon rolls and RC colas. Often we stopped there on the trip home from the fields in the evenings. It was a place of alcohol, tobacco, gos-sin rumors and pathos.

Later, in a paid interview with the and journalist William Radford Hule, Milam acknowledged the murder, The killing was at the store some 200 yards from our front door. By now the corner of Weber Street and 49W had become a gathering place for bigots.

The no builty I never have a night.



ILLUSTRATION: FRANCES JETTER

On this particular weekend, ruger in my life. I like niggers - in mors were afoot that Enumen Till their place. I know how to work had entered the store on a dare them. But I just decided it was time from some of his young friends and a few people got put on notice. begun a conversation with Roy "As long as I live and can do any-Bryant's wife, who was behind the counter. While his friends peeped in from the outside, Emmett talked

freely with the woman. Though if

was never proven, one account has it that he "wolf-whistled" and inad-

vertently touched her in a "non-

sexual" way. At this point Emmett's

friends became frightened and warned him that they should all run

As rumors of the incident spread.

Emmett began to share his friends'

concern. He talked of cutting short

his stay and returning to Chicago.

His aunt felt the incident would

blow over if he kept quiet and out of

Sometime in the wee morning

hours of the following Sunday, two

white men went to the home of

Emmett's aunt and uncle and took

When Emmett's savagely beaten and decomposing body was found eight days later, he had been bound with barbed wire, shot in the head

and thrown or rolled into the Talla-

hatchie River, weighed down by a

74-pound fan used to draw hot air

Immediately, Milam and Bryant

were suspects, at least in our minds.

Reluctantly - these were, of

ut of a cotton gin.

thing about it, niggers are gonna stay in their place. Niggers ain't gonna vote where I live. If they did, they'd control the government. They ain't gonna go to school with my kids. And when a nigger even gets close to mentioning sex with a white woman, he's tired of living. I'm likely to kill him . . . I stood there and listened to that nigger throw that poison at me, and I just made up my mind. 'Chicago boy,' said, I'm tired of them sending your kind down here to stir up trouble. Goddamn you, I'm going to make an example out of you - just so everybody can know how me and my folks stand."

By the time this article appeared n 1956, I was 8 years old. I was well

The notion of a white woman speaking intimately to a black man was a fantasy

aware of how J. W. Milam and his folks stood. In their minds they lived in a society in which blacks were believed to be genetically infe-

Theirs was a climate widely accepted by most segments of the white community, and now even sanctioned by law, or so it seemed to us. The court verdict was not what

store of an escape from the State Penitentiary at Parchman, the penal farm a few miles to the north, an instant posse was formed. Without warning, dozens of armed, intoxicated white men would set out. often stopping home long enough to pick up their bloodhounds. Many times, when the hunt was over, they returned to the store in a caravan. They often signaled their arrival and success by firing into the air.

If the death of a peer brings with it a sudden sense of mortality, espe-cially to a child, then the presence of the killers in our midst as neighbors and free men not only confirmed the obvious, but bordered on the absurd. Only the children really knew the impact of the arrival of this family on the deepest of levels, in those places which once changed remain forever changed.

Soon the parties at the store became a little rowdier, and were not confined to weekends. Soon the Shoemakers, a white family who lived on county property adjacent to daughter Angie to play with me, or any of the black kids in the neighborhood. She could no longer come over to our house to practice her lessons on our piano, even though her family did not own one. Angie's father, who drove a bulldozer for the county road department, came home one alternoon and proceeded to bulldoze a makeshift playhouse ne had constructed for us earlier. Her mother later explained that the family had been warned that Angle and I should no longer be allowed to play together.

The psychological impact served only to further confuse and lower our self-esteem and deepen the ageold notion of white supremacy. It already seemed odd to us that when we were in the fields chopping and picking cotton, white children were home playing or involved in some organized community activity to which we had no access. To us, if black and white children could no longer play together, not because of something we had done but because of some inherent dark stain on our soul only visible to whites, then just maybe to be white was

It was now obvious that to survive the physical threat of white supremacy, one had to consciously avoid certain types of environments and people. We knew — though there were no words in our young ocabularies to express the thought - that the more sinister threat was the possibility that we would come to believe that we, as African Americans, were inferior to whites simply because of our color.

In the days that followed, my life and that of my friends changed, and so did our community. We mapped out routes to town which took us away from and around the store. We were warned not to act like we really knew who the brothers were, or what they had been accused of. We were warned not to whistle in public. We were warned not to look at white women at all, and to speak with them only when spoken to and when absolutely necessary. We were warned not to look white men in the eye. We were told there would be no more birthday parties in the backyard of Michelle's Grocery. We were told to keep our oatmeal cookies to ourselves. By then it didn't matter. For us the age of innocence was already dead.

John Milton Wesley, a poet and author, la director of partnership development and marketing for the National Clearinghouse for Alcohol "I'm no buily; I never hurt a nig. Often when word reached the ... and Drug Information in Rockville.

Geoffrey Gibbs on an

eco-friendly invention attracting customers from as far away as China

THE PHONE rings in the cramped shed Dick Barton uses for an office in the Devon village of Harbertonford. The National Trust in Northern Ireland wants to buy one of his products for a riverbank cottage they are

The Waterless Electronic Biological (WEB) toilet, which uses powdered coconut shell as a starter compost, has already excited interest from potential customers as diverse as the Greyhound bus company and the authorities of a desert city in China.

Getting the WEB to the production stage is the tricky bit. 'The trouble with any simple, good invention is that nobody wants to know," says Mr Barton's business partner. Peter Goodwin.

Mr Goodwin, a former regional director of Nissan UK, the moto distribution company, says the venture needs around £250,000 start-up finance. But, he insists. they will only go ahead with the right sort of backer. Venture capital firms have been ruled out as too

Four unidentified local investors are said to be waiting in the wings to

ticularly high hopes of being able to A Country supply Tia Yuan, a Chinese city of 2.7 million inhabitants in Shanxi province, with the help of a subsidiary of Yorkshire Water.

Production will be contracted out to a Cornish company boasting specialist skills in rotary moulding For the time being, Mr Barton i meeting demand by modifying stock acquired from a Plymouth manufacturer that is no longer trading.

The unit, essentially a self-contained sewage system, does not require a water supply or any chemicals and is said to be odourfree. What it does need is an electrical supply — mains or generator — and a standard rainwater pipe for ventilation. A low-voltage model for boats and coaches is being devel-

The concept is simple. The toilet is charged with an absorbent starter compost — in this case coconut shell - which is rotated mechanically. A built-in fan provides through ventilation to eliminate odours and the compost is heated to evaporate moisture which is removed outside by the ventilation system.

The heat treatment kills noxious micro-organisms before the used compost is emptied mechanically nto a bag for disposal or use as a utrient in horticulture,

"Four adults using the WEB vould need to recharge it about every three weeks," says Mr Barton. The ground coconut shell will come from Sri Lanka. "There's nounds of it there," he said.

For more information, contact: Barton Accessories, Morleigh Road, Harbertonford, Totnes, Devon TQ9 7TS, Tel: +44 1803 732878

Diary

SOMERSET: The first time this winter that I felt a really keen layer designed to see the animal through a hard, Shetland winter.

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John Vallins

edge to the wind was some days before the snow came. I was on a steep little hillside going to visit a flock of Shetland sheep, rare in these parts. They used to be employed by the local authority as low maintenance mowers, but are now cherished by a private owner. These are "primitive sheep, not delicate cross-breeds They are nimble and light-boned equipped for an independent life in rugged conditions. They lamb easily and produce a lot of milk. Even the windiest hill in Somerset is a mild haven for them. Their Norse origin is evident in their names Though all are born almost black, the "Kat Moget" develops a striped face like a badger's, the adult "Moorit" has a red-brown coat and darker legs, and the "Gul Moget" a delicate, pale fawn belly. Each is very much an individual in character as well as appearance. When the owner approaches, the sheep crowd towards her. They seemed keen to demonstrate their enjoyment of a recreational stampede, leaping high in the air, apparently out of sheer exuberance. They are friendly crea tures, but the young rams with their curled horns are not encouraged to develop overmuch their friendliness with human beings. The breed makes particularly fine mutton, with no marbling of fat below an outer

Shoots of recovery for African farmers

Genetic engineering and chemical killers could poost Africa's crop yield,

eports Tim Radford

ROFESSOR Jonathan Gressel is an Israeli scientist who hopes to weed out hunger nd despair in Africa. He argues at the appliance of science to the roblem of just two related parasitic eeds could result in a fourfold inrease in crop yields.

The problem, he says, is that agriliural yields in Africa have fallen ramatically since post-colonial mes partly through something as hobtrusive as a little plant called ltchweed, or Striga, and a cousin Mediterranean Africa called

comrape, or Orobanche. They are hart little customers, he says. The eds hang around in the soil waitg for a host and then sprout. A st can be almost anything grown food: not plantains, not cassava, t otherwise almost anything ize, millet, wheat, sorghum, sunwers, legumes. The parasite athes itself to the roots of the host d plugs into the vascular system. send a message to whatever con-I system the plants have: "You ve a potato down here, or a carsend lots of sugars down here ause I am hungry," says Gressel. Witchweed can do a little bit of plosynthesis for Itself, broomrape sn't even bother with that. Both them prefer to make the host do the work, and feed the parasite h water, sugars and photosyn-tic goods. Then it sends up a litstock covered with flowers. One,

one, of these stocks can proe 100,000 seeds. is weeds go, it is pretty good at enishing itself. Broomrape reed the Egyptian broad bean crop 30 per cent in a decade. A survey 180,000 square kilometres of eria found witchweed seeds in er cent of the fields. In seven es of sub-Saharan Africa, everyyear, valued at \$10 million. "It looks very pretty. At the soil level you see these beautiful ex-

panses of flowers. If you look above, you see things kind of dried out and dying," Gressel says. There isn't a lot of point in weeding. By the time the flowers appear, the crop has had it. "We are talking about a 50 per cent or more yield reduction after it gets going. We are talking about the human problem of losing half your crop. We are talking about when it gets worse than that: when you just abandon the crop, so you have lost the ground as well, and you have to move into the nearest nature reserve because it is the only land available. So one would hope the Greens would support solutions for this but they don't seem too supportive."

Traditional cross-breeding or hybridising has done nothing for the problem. A few years ago, Gressel formed a hypothesis and began pestering industry with it. Industry big corporate multinational industry - wasn't very interested, because you cannot sell cures to people who haven't the income to pay for them. But Gressel argued that what is about to happen for cash-crop cotton in agribusiness. America also goes for subsistence maize in Kenya or Zambia: it would pay a farmer to buy genetically engineered seeds with a specific herbicide resistance built in, and then wipe out the weeds with a herbicide.

He got hold of some suitable biotechnologically manipulated seed, and soaked it with herbicide, and with help from other scientists. and the US Agency for International Development, planted it in selected plots in Kenya and Tanzania. So far the experimental crop is alive and doing well. Its untreated cousin in the next plot is just dried out stalks, he reports.

"What we are talking about in re except mountains and Africa's not just doubling the yields. Nigeria or Kenya is certainly not sts, witchweed was the biggest We are talking about more than going to spend \$50 a hectare on

pest: bigger than fungi, more vora-cious than locusts. In one little part of western Kenya, witchweed costs the farmers 81,000 tons of corn a

the yield, so the farmers stopped

using fertiliser because they couldn't afford to share it with a

parasite. In colonial times they were

getting about four tons per hectare

about one ton. Let us take the worst

the herbicide will cost about \$5.

Clearly if it were to cost about \$50

— if he had to spray the whole field

- the farmer couldn't use it. So he

gets another ton, which is worth

\$120. Now fertiliser does cost about

\$50 a hectare. But now he can dou-

ble the yield again: he has no witch-

weed to share the fertiliser with, so

he can afford those \$50 to get an-

other \$240 worth of crop. Once he

has got his own seed and the treat-

ment is costing him only \$5 he will

start thinking about fertiliser dou-

bling again. We are talking about

It's a neat trick; resolve local

hunger, sustain rural independence.

maintain the land, give people a

stake in it and reduce the migration

to the shantytowns at the edge of

the cities - everybody wins. Ex-

cept, of course, the chemical compa-

nies? Wrong, he says. A farmer in

huge changes."

possible calculations." he says.

maize. Now they are getting

The seed will cost \$20 a hectare;

On bare ground . . . women and children plough an African field

that. The witchweed was halving | magic formulae from the megacorporations. But he is going to spend \$5 a hectare. Nigeria -- to name but

> tares under crops. Multiply that by \$5 and you have a nice little earner. There are catches. One of them is nutation. Weeds are weeds because hey are successful: throw something at them and they fight back. mile upon mile of it. Take the English lawn, he says. Dandelions have evolved to flourish ower and lower under a mowing regime. In India, nature evolved a

one nation - has 70 million hec-

all, highly competitive wheat that outsoared its weed competitors and survived by producing only a small ear. So the green revolution took that wheat and turned it into a dwarf with big ears, so that all the photosynthesis went into making food for he hungry, rather than strength to outpace weeds. The short one re-1,000 seeds. sponded very nicely to fertiliser too,

whereas the tall one just fell over hen you tried to feed it. For a while, things were fine. The only thing left to contend with was a tough little stalk called *Phalaris minor*, or canary grass, and a cheap herbicide took care of that. Sustainable agriculture. doesn't mean in the West. It came to mean sustaining a continuous yield increase in order to sustain unstop-



PHOTOGRAPH, RON GILING

But the green revolution - the one that depended on hybrids rather than genetic engineering, on fertilisers and chemicals rather than neat tricks - is running out of steam. Weeds, however, don't give up. In parts of the Punjab, where canny Sikh farmers led the way to modernity, the canary grass is back.

FEATURES 15

Broomrape and witchweed will go on posing problems. Farmers have been buttling with weeds since the birth of agriculture more than 5,000 years ago. Science will have to go on providing more resistant genes. But the Darwinian facts remain: random mutation and natural selection by herbicide will produce survivors. Gressel can do the mathematics. The mutation frequency is one in a million. Each stock puts out

"We calculate in the first year alone there will be five stocks per hectare of resistance. Mathematical modelling shows that in three years, witchweed will be on the way back — unless the missionaries get there first and show that cleanliness is next to godliness and get the farmer to go out and knock off those five stocks before they set seed. We are talking about subsistence farming." he says. "It's not too much to ask."

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eveloped world takes the pledge

ey treaty on CFCs me of age this month; tes Duncan Brack

TERNATIONAL systems live ecariously, wrote Henry nger. "Never before have the onents of world order, their caly to interact, and their goals all ged quite so rapidly, so deeply globally." One of these compo-is is the evolving network of inlional environmental treaties. numbering over 170, they deal a wide range of issues, from warming to the protection of ngered species to trade in hazwastes. Growing in scope algnificance, these agreements form a vital part of next cens world order.

s month in Vienna, one of the important came of age. The treal Protocol on Substances Deplete the Ozone Layer, ed in 1987, attempted what Action to tackle global environment of thure. A tougher nony believed impossible: to place mental degradation has been in gentrols on production and conreal confined to environment rots, seems necessary.

sumption of the widely-used range of chlorofluorocarbons, or CFCs. Highly versatile, and profitable, CFCs turned out to destroy the stratospheric ozone layer, which shields the earth from the sun's harmful ultraviolet radiation.

The negotiators succeeded be-youd their hopes. Under the sour of the limited targets of the initial agreement, industry developed alternatives that were not only as good as CFCs but often cheaper. Following two major amendments to the treaty, CFC production and consumption will cease everywhere in the developed world at the end of 1995. Other chemicals not even thought of as ozone depleters a decade ago have been brought under control. If the treaty's provi-sions are fully implemented, the ozone layer should start to recover about the turn of the century, and be restored to health in another 50 veara.

. ministries and agencies, with industry, trade, agriculture, development and finance departments playing varied, sometimes negative, roles Vienna showed the real need for environmental sustainability to be inte-grated into the operations, assumptions and values of every public agency. Just what governments signed up to, in fact, at the

1992 Earth Summit, If treaties are to be effective, they must be fully Montreal Protocol is now faced with its first cases of non-compliance: five eastern European and former treated the defaulters gently, promis ing financial help with adaption and requiring phaseout timetables and commitments not to export — but Russia denounced the trade restriction, threatening problems for the future. A tougher non-compliance procedure, featuring sticks and car-

evident in the rapid growth of a black market. Illegal trade has reached such a pitch that CFCs are now the second most lucrative comnodity smuggled through Miami exceeded in value only by cocaine. The position of developing coun-

pable population growth.

in India, came to mean something it

tries was one of the thornlest problenis at Vienna. Montreal treats them separately; they need not infpose controls until 1999, and receive financial assistance with phaseout gives them a powerful incentive to tary sense. They are coalesce around a simple demand for more money, stalling progress with further phaseouts, even though in reality their positions dif-Soviet "transition economies" announced the possibility of failing to meet the CFC phaseout date of January 1, 1996. The Vienna meeting reverse, aggressively expanding CFC production and exports. Future treaties should be designed to avoid such largely outdated cate gorisations - particularly the forthcoming Climate Change protocol.

As environmental treaties prolif-

Evasion of CPC controls is also | Basel Convention on trade in hazardous wastes, until it was suitably amended this year. Hydrofluorocarbons, non-ozone-depleting substi-tutes for CFCs, should face controls under the Climate Change protocol. as they are powerful greenhouse gases - but would this slow down

zone-depleter phaseouts? The end of the cold war has ushered in an entirely new system of international politics. Yet governments are still obsessed with the and adaptation. Yet this structure concept of security purely in a miliface a new world of environmental threats, where problems which may not surface for another 50 years need to be tackled now before it is too late, and where truly global cooperation is essential. Vienna showed how one important and effective environmental treaty is evolving to meet these new chalenges; there are many lessons there to be learned.

Duncan Brack is a senior research fellow at the Royal Institute of international Affairs; his study on erate, they sometimes clash, Trade international trade and the Montreal in recycled CFCs fell foul of the l'Protocol will be published next year



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"During the trial one of the spies turned King's evidence and he escaped execution, which was the fate of the other three." - jeanne A

D OES any other country have a national anthem whose words are solely about its head

THERE is at least one; that of Negara Brunel Darussalam, or the Kingdom of Brunci, Abode of

God Bless His Majesty With a long life Justly and Nobly rute the kingdom And lead our people happily forever Peacefully be, the Kingdom and

Lord, Save Brunei, The abode of

"His Majesty" is Paduka Seri Baginda Sultan Haji Hassanal Bolkiah Mu'izzaddin Waddaulah,

countries can be commodities too,

It's also an appropriate name be-

cause Namibia's rocks produce a

rainbow of precious and semi-

precious stones - diamonds, tour-

malines, garnets, amethysts, rose

quartz, aventuring - and metals too.

gold, copper, lead uranium. Wher-

ever you go there are mines; large

ones which dominate the towns that

have grown up around them and

small ones hidden away on private

farms. Their revenues keep this

country going. Their troubles make

At the gym the other day I saw a

T-shirt bearing the legend "Mine

near me. As I settled onto the seat of

mine was in crisis and why. Perhaps

Karibib whose workers are striking

UK privatised industries. Here

there is the added tension of man-

agement being almost exclusively white and workers black.

Or perhaps the problem was al

Oranjemund. Inhospitable though

the pec deck, I wondered which The concession was soon sold to

it was the Navachab gold mine near | area closed to the public. The dia-

familiar story to anyone watching ing De Beers to set up an indigenous

Alert" on someone working out

newspaper headlines.

Letter From Namibia Margaret Bradley

Sultan and Yang Di-Pertuan of Brunei Darssalam. It gained full independence from Britain in 1984.-Ward Edmonds, Singapore

National Anthems of The World by Reed and Bristow records that Brunei's anthem is about its Sultan; Denmark's is about its ancient King Christian; and Oman's calls for the protection of the Sultan. - Heather Hawthorn, Nottingham

CURELY the prize goes to the Netherlands, which has a national anthem about its leader of four centuries ago and goes: "William of Nassau, I am, of German blood . . . I have always honoured the King of Spain." - Cees van Putten, Adelaide, Australia

FRENCH onion men were a feature of my 1950s' childhood. Where did they come from, and what has happened to

THE Johnny Onions came mainly

from around Taule, south of Roscoff on the north coast of Brit tany. In the fifties, the area grew onions, shallots, artichokes and early season vegetables. Families would fill up a lorry with onlons and come over to England and sell them on their bikes. When they retired, they spoke English with the dialect of where they had worked. Most of the district has since been denuded of trees and planted with cauliflowers. The glamour is gone: you can't

when she was a child of 10 (clrea

HEY CALL. Namibia the gen of this century it was the get-rich-quarters, work for a fixed period on for every commodity and time in prehistory, diamonds were a low salary, then return home to

washed out of kimberlite pipes far inland and borne down river to the

Atlantic, whose waves tumbled and

sorted the crystals before deposit-

ing them in a vast swathe of constal

dunes. There they lay hidden until

1908 when a worker building the

railway line in German South West

Soon all kinds of people, from

sailors who had jumped ship to shop-

keepers and bar girls, had washed

up there too. Towns such as Kolmanskop sprang up to cater for

the prospectors. Men in the casino

would shoot down the Venetian glass

chandeliers for fun and casually order the cost to be added to their

Harry Oppenheimer and the whole

monds, 98 per cent of which are said

in protest against management getting higher wage increases and longer holidays than workers — a to be of gem quality, go to Amsterpany's safety record. A recent test dam and Israel for cutting, though case brought against RTZ by a the Miners' Union of Namibia is ask worker suffering from cancer has,

diamond cutting and polishing indus-

try to bring jobs and money back to a

Of course, in post-independence

Namibia homelands and passes

have been abolished but the infa-

heavily unemployed nation.

Africa discovered a bright pebble.

Mining for the meaning



Johnny Onlon: Bretons on their bikes were a feature of the fifties

spoke Gaelic which was understood by the Welsh-speaking inhabitants of the city. - Frances Gainer, Calgary, Alberta, Canada

WAT WAS the single most profitable financial transaction in history?

THE LOUISIANA Purchase and the Alaska Purchase were mere bagatelles compared with a land sale in 1870. The Hudson's Bay Company sold Rupert's Land to the Government of Canada for £300,000 - capproximately \$1,500,000 at 1870 exchange rates). Rupert's Land was defined as "all that land drained by MY WELSH-BORN mother removes flowing into Hudson's Bay" and consisted of 900,000,000 acres of land which comes to around

wait and see whether perhaps an-

other contract will be forthcoming.

But perhaps the mine alert was at

Rossing, the largest open-cast ura-

nium mine in the world. In the early

eighties huge profits were made by

the owner, RTZ, but as the strangle-

hold of trade boycotts tightened

around the South African apartheid

regime, which ruled Namibia till

1990, against the decree of the

United Nations, contracts began to

the world has turned its face against nuclear

power after Chernobyl, prices have

trench. And Rossing is also facing

the consequences of employing

workers who are now aware of their

rights and are questioning the com-

however, proved disappointing. The

High Court In London has referred

it back to the Namibian courts for

trial. With no legal aid available, the

litigant is unable to bring his case

against an employer as powerful as

a multinational.

the sandy, arid wastes of the Namib mous contract labour system reDesert may be, in the first decades mains. Leaving their families much to do with people as with lost in the middle of the Namib small towns and villages.

ORSE STILL, as much of

face against nuclear

good for Canada that it allowed the | person. You found the technique company to keep 7,000,000 acres of the best farmland. — Keith Stotyn. Edmonton, Alberta, Canada

THE WORD "cleave" has two opposite meanings, either to stick together or to split apart. Are there other words that do the same thing?

A FAVOURITE example of mine is "fast" as in running fast versus "standing fast". Irony and sar-casm are based on the possible coexistence of opposite meanings in a word. A fat chance is really a slim chance etc. — Prof Giovanni Carsaniga, University of Sydney

THE MOST poetic use of this is in Gerard Manley Hopkins's greatest poem, "The Windhover": "Brute beauty and valour and act, oh, air pride, plume, here/Buckle!" Buckle means both bend under intense pressure and fasten together. Hopcins's use of the word is deliberate and fits in with his whole approach o life. "Glory be to God for dappled things." - Lawrie Cherniack, Win nipeg, Manitoba, Canada

N THE United States the verb "table", in parliamentary procedure, can mean to raise an issue for discussion or to delay discussion of an issue. According to OED this is because when you raise an issue in Congress everyone talks incessantly to no purpose and you might as well have moved to postpone debate indefinitely. That sounds about right. — Tim Morris, Texas, USA

DOES a novel or short story written in the second person exist?

VOU WERE impressed by Edna I O'Brien's novel A Pagan Place 1908) in Swansea. She claimed they 1 \$.0016 per acre. The deal was so 1 because of the use of the second 1

streets are lined with purple

bougainvillaea, scarlet tlamboyant

and harebell-blue jacacanda is domi-

nated by a spidery metal structure

above a fabulously rich mineral vein, producing mainly copper but

also zinc, lead, silver, cadmium and a variety of crystals, 40 of which are

said to exist nowhere else on earth.

Rumour has it that in the good old

days of high prices, the taxes due to

the South African government from

Tsumeb alone more than until for the road it built to Angola in a vain attempt to defeat the Peoples Liber-

ation Army of Namibia. But the last

time I was there, the information

board at the entrance bore the fol-

lowing sad record: "Days worked

without a disabling accident 34: Tar-

And even the greatest mine is

eventually worked out. With rock

bottom metal prices and newer,

more modern extraction practices

elsewhere in the world, Tsumeb can

Don't think it impossible for

towns to die in this day and age.

Kolmanskop is not alone. The tin

mine at Uis closed four years ago as

the price of tin on the world's stock

exchanges plummeted. Built only to

service the mine, the whole of Uis

came up for auction earlier this

year. Everything was to be sold as

one lot: houses, supermarket, clinic,

swimming pool, golf club . . . even the church. On the coast, or nearer

the game parks, it might have be-

get 70: Previous best 67."

dling resources.

was a powerful way for you to understand the feelings being expressed by the author. - Simon Moscley, New Plymouth, New

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

MELVYN BRAGG'S A Time To Dance is written in the second person. There is also a film by Chris Marker, Sans Soleil, that uses the second person for the voice-over -Penelope Hanley, Canberra, Aus-

MICHEL BUTOR published a novel in the second person La Modification (Les Editions de Minuit, 1957), translated as Change Of Heart. - Jeffry Largon, Yale University Library

Any answers?

//HO first realised the need for an international dateline, and what problems arose in its delineation? - Steve Kelly, East

WHY are dried grapes re-ferred to as sultanas? Does it have anything to do with "sultana", meaning the wife of a sultan? - Tim Goodwin, Queensland,

WHAT were the "corre-sponding societies" of the 8/19th centuries? Who were the members? What did they correspond alout? -- Derk Rowntree, Daventry, Northants

Ansivers should be e-mailed to constytegorie namedous, laxed to 471/44171-242-0005, or posted to The Guardian Weekly, 75 Family don Boad, London ECTM 3HQ. Hotes & Original Volume 6 is now regulable, published to Fourth Estate, trice 20.90

and and gravel plain . . . Perfect for

But then again, considering the

drought in Namibia -- cuttle are

dying on the communal lands south

of Collabis and Windnock, and the

capital will the one of water if the

rains aren't prod this year - per

haps it is Kerniai mine that is at

landt. Situated near Grootfontein, it

the midst or Namibia's only truly

fertile maise-growing and milk-pro-

ducing land, Kombat could be about

to cause a major ecological disaster

\ fissure in the rock has allowed

underground water to gush into the

mine, obliging the owners to pump

it out into He eroland. As a result

the water table on some farms has

dropped 30m, ioning farmers to dg

more and deeper boreholes in order

to tap fossil waters lying far below

Musing, I moved on to the leg ex

tender machine. Now the Tshirt

was exercising opposite me on the

alised that beneath the heading

there was a second line which read

"If you see one, don't touch it, to

someone". Light dawned. So the cl

sis was not in the gold, diamond

copper towns of southern Nambi

sprinkled with land mines during

the war of independence, making it

impossible, half a decade later, fo

This is today's mine alert

Namibia, but make no mistake.

morrow it could be in Oranjemu

Tsumeb, Kombat or a host of other

farming or travel in some areas

It was in Ovamboland, which was

ctor and 's I looked again, I re

the savanna suchice.

rnew religion.

prices. The town of Tsumeb, whose | Desert, surrounded by a waste of

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

Chess:Leonard Barden

THIS MONTH'S Fide zonal tournament at Linares was a rebuff for English hopes. At stake were five places in the 1996 interzonal, for which the top UK players, Short, Adams and Speelman, are prequalified; and, judged by world rankings, Miles, Hodgson and Sadler all and good chances of progress.

Miles dominated the early rounds and led by 1.5 points at half-way, while Sadler defeated Spain's number one in only 12 moves, a stunning result which is possibly the quickest decisive all-GM game without an obvious blunder.

Illescas-Sadler, Queen's Gambit Accepted

4 Be3 Nf6 5 Nc3 e5 6 d5 Na5 7 Nf3 Bd6! Stronger than c6 played previously. Now White's best s to regain his pawn by 8 Bxc4

8 Qa4+? Bd7!! The point. Black sacrifices a knight to put the white queen in such jeopardy that the enwing rescue operation wrecks White's entire game. 9 Qxa5 a6 Threatening b6 winning the queen. White must try to create a retreat route to d2 and e1.

10 Nb1 Nxe4 11 Kd1 c31 12 Resigns. Here b6 is again threatened, so White can only continue 12 b4 b6 13 Qa3 a. 14 Qc1 axb1 15 Bd3 (else f5-f4 traps the other bishop) when both Ne5 and f5 leave Black an overwhelming game, with three excellent pawns for a keight and White's army left on the back row. You have to admire Miguel Illescas for resigning. Many grandmasters would be so appalled at losing they would struggle on just to avoid publicity.

The Linares zonal then took dramatic turn. Illescas fought back to win first prize outright; Miles, tired and stressed by his lead, lost n the final two rounds and went into a speed play-off with three Dutchmen, two Frenchmen and the owest-ranked English contender. Peter Wells. The Dutch trio qualified easily. Wells scraped into the final qualifying place and Miles lost out. So Wells joins Short, Adams and Speelman in the 1996 interzonal at Yerevan. He is at his best in complex openings and it was typical that this win should come from the controversial Poisoned Pawn Sicilian.

Peter Wells-Lock van Wely,

e4 c5 2 Nf3 d6 3 d4 cxd4 Nxd4 Nf6 5 Nt3 a6 6 Bg5 c6 7 f4 Qb6 8 Qd2 Qxh2 9 Rb1 Qa3 10 Bxf6 gxf6 11 Be2 Ne6 Back in 1970, Fischer preferred Bg7 12 0-0 f5.

12 Nxc6 bxc6 13 0-0 Be7 14

Kh1 0-0 15 f5 Kh8 16 e5! This sacrifice opens up e4 for the white knight en route to the K-side, and signals problems for Black on the d ile. dxe5 17 Rb3 Qa5 18 Qh6 Rg8 19 Ne4 Qd8 20 Rh3 Rg7 21 Rd1 Bd7 22 Rhd3 Ra7 23 Qe3! Winning a piece, for Rc7 (ails o 24 Qd2, Qb8 24 Rxd7 Rxd7 25 Rxd7 exf5 26 Qb3 Qg8 27 Rxc7 fxe4 Black's three pawns for a nishop are no real equivalent since Black's king is too exposed.

28 g3 Qd8 29 Rxd7 h5 30 Rxg7 Kxg7 31 Bxh5 Qd7 32 Qe3 Qd5 33 a3 Qc4 34 Qc2 Qd4 35 Qg4+ K/8 Kh8 36 Qg6 is also hopeless, 36 Qe6 Resigns. After Kg7 37 Qf7+ White's queen and sishop will soon force checkmate.

> No 2401 214 (D)

against any defence (by B J de C Andrade). Many earlier solvers have been tricked by this puzzle.

Hitting the marc

Colin Luckhurst

NOUR adventures on bicycles in various regions of rural France in recent years, we have often heen tempted, by way of post-prandial indulgence, to try the local marc.

It has usually been offered at the end of a dinner which has lasted from 7.30pm to 10pm, and which has most frequently been taken out on the terrace and under the trees in the sultry heat of late summer.

So, a digestif has often scemed to be not entirely a bad idea. And why not try the local product? The French are touchingly loyal to their local wine producers we have learned on these adventures, and the local marc, offered as an alternative to cognac or calvados, is a reflection of the quality and nature of what the local vignerons produce.

Marc, technically, is the distillation of the second pressing of the pulp, stalks, and assorted vinous debris which follows the first pressing for the wine. In recent years it has been increasingly available only as a commercial product.

But that is a function of legislative change forced on local custom because, historically, every vigneron had the right to distil his own mare. And this created a tradition, now coming to its end, of the travelling alembic, the mobile still which toured the peasant vineyards in the weeks after the vendange to provide a distillation service for every wine producer.

The law, revised almost 30 years ago in the interests, as the French so quaintly put it, of the suppression of insobriety, made impossible for the individual vigneron to bequeath his entitlement to make a marc, along with his land, to his heirs and successors. The right died with the in-

the legislation and the tradition of the travelling still, once a producing areas, declined

steadily from that time. The local marc, and we have ried it in the Beaujolais and in Gaillac in recent summers, can be a fierce and unsophisticated digestif redolent at its worst of the vine stalks which feature inevitably in the second pressing.

LWAYS willing to try a new taste experience, I was easily tempted to try balloon glass of the potion, but to my palate an aged calvados, with the heady scents of apple, usually wins on points. And they ost much the same at the table

We were tempted by the grappa, the Italian version of the product, when we were awheel n Umbria last summer. But the tradition of the local peasant distillation in the autumnal uists interested me when I was reading Geoffrey Grigson's Notes From An Odd Country. The area of Troo, north of the Loire, from which he was writing, is on the northern extremity of French wine production.

Across

8 In the centre

informer (8)

of (4)

9 (Acting as)

duck (6)

16 Fearless (8)

18 Mélody (4)

9 Shaw play.

Within the

Forge (6)

bounds of

Fisherman (6)

of speed (4)

(9) Victorian

statesmari

soldiers (8)

with bag (9)

4 Fastening or unit

Of consequence

11 Cure (6)

Cider starts only a little farther His book, first published in

LEISURE 19

1970, recorded already the decline in the vinevard distillation tradition. I asked his daughter, Sophic Grigson, the well known writer and broadcaster on matters culinary, what she could tell me about the survival of the

She ruplied that she well remembered the travelling stills arriving in the village after the vendange, Heath Robinson devices, belching out smoke from one end and a trickle of fiery mare from the other. But she implicitly confirmed the decline to which her father had alluded.

And you cannot deny the good sense, in public policy terms, of restricting the right to manufacture a highly alcoholic spirit in every tiny viticultural domain.

The French have long won the international league table title for the incidence of cirrbosis of the liver, a complaint directly associated with excess drinking — marc available in a large proportion of rural homes would not have been helping the

Bridge Zia Mahmood

THE DECLARER in a grand slam contract, who has so ar lost no tricks, leads the ueen of diamonds from the dummy and plays the six of spades from his hand. Hearts are trumps and your diamond holding is K 10 5 3 2. What card do you play? You all know me by now, so

ou will correctly deduce that he answer is the two, or the three, or anything but the king. If you'd like to know why this is the answer, look at the deal below, which comes from the latest book by Robert and Phillip King, Called Contract Killers, the book contains some wonderful bridge hands written in the style of four great crime

This hand featured Don Vito Cortisone — the Bridgefather against two unscrupulous awyers called Sharp and Kean. North-South game, dealer South (see table).

Don Cortisone led the jack of hearts, and Kean saw that he would make his grand slam if the spade finesse succeeded or the could establish enough club winners in dummy to discard

♦ AJ3 ¥A652 +AJ 1032 West ♦Q75 ♥J10 + 10 4 2° **4J9876** ♦K10532 +985 **★ K986** ¥KQ9873 . A4

East Nina West North Cort'ne Sharp 3**≜**. İV No No No 4 NT 5.

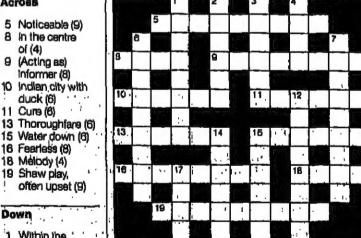
two spades from the South hand. Winning the first trick with the queen, he led the nine of hearts to the ace, cashed the ace of clubs and ruffed a club. When an honour did not appear on this trick, an ordinary declarer would have cashed the king of spaces and finessed the jack, making the contract easily enough.

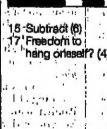
But Kean spotted an extra chance. Not a legitimate chance, to be sure, but this was of no concern. Kean led the three of hearts to the six in dummy, then led the queen of diamonds from the table. When East played low, South dis-carded a spade! If the Don had won the trick with his king, Kean would have "discovered" that he had some diamonds after all, replaced the spade discard with the ace of diamonds. and taken the spade finesse.

When Don Cortisone played

low on the queen of diamonds, though, Kean assumed that it was East who held the king and had failed to cover the queen. Kean thereupon replaced his spade with his small diamond expecting to be able to discard dummy's losing spade on the ace of diamonds later. But in this situation the rules allow West to replace his card also, so Don Vito took the queen of onds with the king to defeat the unbreakable slam. Buy Contract Killers for Christmas, But don't give it to anyone until you've had a . 6 14 Drink (6) chance to read it first!

Quick crossword no. 294



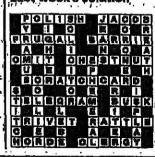


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Last week's solution



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it is a Guardi specific ers: fur curacy right to reject a Alihous thereio advise billiy to in the curery.

On a journey of rediscovery

Richard Williams

Rebound: The Odyssey of Michael Jordan by Bob Greene Michael Joseph £15.99

HEN HIS father was shot dead in 1993, Michael Jordan began to meditate on dan began to meditate on the nature of fame and identity. Back then, the star of the Chicago Bulls was probably the world's best known athlete, so celebrated that he had stayed away from the opening ceremony of the previous year's Olympic Games lest his very presence should disturb the balance of the event. Unsurprisingly, the mur-der disturbed the balance of his own mind to the extent that he gave up basketball and attempted to rediscover himself through another sport altogether.

A psychiatrist would probably not be surprised to discover that when he came to decide on a new sport, Jordan chose one through which he could recreate a boy-hood illuminated by his father's encouragement. unshadowed — unforeshadowed, as t were — by his own adult reputation and its associated million-dollar contracts. This gives the first half of Rebound - an account of his apprentice year in baseball and of the failure of his attempt at self-recreation — a real grip on the reader's

book about Michael Jordan, following Hang Time (1992), which to see him play baseball — swelling

portrayed the player in his pomp. Greene, a Chicago columnist who made his reputation by chronicling the lives and times of America's baby boomers, is someone you would be happy to find in the next seat on a long journey. He is, for a start, a good listener. People, often perfect strangers, tell him interesting things. And he is inquisitive: this, after all, is the man who once took the trouble to find out from the only credible source whether or not there should be a comma in the title of the song "Louie Louie". Hang Time was written with Jor-

dan's co-operation, and Rebound enjoys the same advantage. Jordan knows and respects Greene, telling him things no ordinary reporter would hear, giving him access to the passenger seat of his Corvette and to the darkness of the hotel room after yet another defeat. In nost hands, the result would be nagiography of one sort or another. Greene takes the darker hues and inresolved conclusion of this new naterial and turns in something more compelling than its predeces-

Opening in the optimistic sunshine of spring training, Greene follows Jordan through a winter in the minor leagues, passing through a maze of self-discovery. Greene is sensitive and admit enough to make us share the growing dismay with Rebound is Bob Greene's second | which Jordan greets the realisation



Michael Jordan on the rebound

crowds at minor league games from dozens to hundreds and from hundreds to thousands - are unprepared for the experience of

watching him struggle and are be-

nused when confronted by it.

Their disappointment erodes his will, as do the attitudes of team mates who cannot for the life of them understand why a multi-millionaire superstar should be beating his brains out on a wet Tuesday night in South Carolina. So he quits and returns to the Bulls, in a turnaround bringing joy not only to his old fans but also to those whose fortunes depend on the successful merchandising and broadcasting

THE tumultuous nature of last September's events in upstate New York may have taken some of the immediacy from John Fein-stein's description of the United rights of contemporary sport. States victory in the 1993 Ryder Cup at the Belfry, but the long opening set-piece remains a good example of tight-focus sports reporting. The rest of the book, subtitled "Days and Nights on the PGA Tour', maintains the intimacy well enough to have carned it the 1995 William Hill/ Sportspages Book of the Year award. It may be too smooth and admiring for some tastes, although its depiction of the hermetic, obsessive world of Norman, Azinger, Strange and their fellows probably doesn't make it the best Christmas present

When dealing with Jordan's meta-

physical struggle in an alien world

the book is riveting. Inevitably, his return to the Bulls lacks the same

degree of narrative tension. We

know Jordan can play basketball. So

does he. That was the problem. But

welcome back, anyway. And with

Rebound. Bob Greene does justice

to this vain but valiant gesture.

A Good Walk Spoiled

Little, Brown £17.99

by John Feinstein

Stirling Moss's Motor Racing Sidgwick & Jackson £14.99

appear on the "money list".

E DITED by Christopher Hilton, this anthology contains several lescription of the 1955 Mille Miglia, n which he navigated the great English hero to victory, is the best known, but others are just as

worthy.

his cloth helmet and his famou turtleneck sweater, a steering whee on his chest, lying beneath a marble tomb in Mantua, they will soon begin to say that there were others just as good — better, maybe . . ."

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

Muhammad All: A Thirty-Year Journey by Howard L Bingham Robson £12.99

TS hard to look through this one dry-eyed. Bingham's collection of black and white photographs begins in Los Angeles in 1962, with a shot of the corky young Cassius Clay alongside Sugar Ray Robinson and Joe Louis. It ends in 1993, with Muhammad Ali in Nelson Mandela's embrace, his eyes un-In between, thanks to the endur-

ing friendship of boxer and photographer, is a wonderful selection of images chronicling the life of an extraordinary man, from the punchbag to the prayer mat, in the ring and on the front porch, spending time with wives and hustlers and advisers and acquaintances from Malcolm X to the Beatles.

This is a classic, and should be read in conjunction with Thomas Hauser's justly celebrated biography, from the same publisher.

Kicking & Screaming: An Oral History of Football in England by Rogan Taylor and Andrew Ward

TOO much football, too many football books: pretty soon the whole overheated game will go pop. Before that happens, here is a football book — accompanying the BBC series of the same name — that was

Utilising the straightforward oral istory technique, the authors asemble the memories of players. managers and fans into a mosaic trom which an affectionate portrait of the English game emerges, with all its faults and virtues.

Everybody will tind a new lavourite tascinating fact: mine is the discovery (from the mouth of Nandor Hidegkuti) that the great Hungarians had warmed up for their epochal defeat of England in 1953 by beating the Renault factory team 16-1 during a stopover in Paris. So 6-3 wasn't such a bad result,

nevset to baen by leuan Evans and Peter Jackson Mainstream £14.99

G HOSTED biographies of inter-national rugby players are usually hopelessly compromised affairs, and to judge by appearances boring cover, cliched title, banal photographs, dodgy typography the former Welsh captain's effort would seem to be a pure product of the genre. Yet thanks to a literate, knowledgeable ghost (the rugby correspondent of the Daily Mail) and to his own vast reservoir of experience, Evans comes up with a

worthwhile tale. The long-term decline of Welsh rugby provides a sort of supertext, while Evans's removal from the captaincy before this year's World Cup allows him to comment on his nation's misfortunes with an astricserving skipper — just about enough, anyway, to neutralise such otherwise have remained shut."

The Artful Dodgson

LEWIS CARROLL By Morton N. Cohen Knopf. 577 pp. \$35

Michael Dirda

EAR THE beginning of this superbly researched and altogether engrossing biography of Lewis Carroll (1832-1898). Morton N. Cohen remarks that the two Alice books and the great nonsense poem "The Hunting of the Snark" are the most quoted literary works in English, excepting only Shakespeare and the Bible. Once that might have meant something. but who today knows Shakespeare and the Bible? In Wonderland, the Mock Turtle tells Alice, children learn "Reeling and Writhing," fol-lowed by "Ambition. Distraction, Uglification, and Derision." Not so long ago that was funny. Now i sounds . . . all too true.

Humor requires context. The two Alice novels constantly play against rigid Victorian commonplaces, exnectations and ideals - many of which, like the Baker, have "softly and suddenly vanished away." How can Wonderland seem quite as wonderful to a child who has lived all his life among electronic marvels? Can even the Jabberwock - "the jaws that bite, the claws that catch" hold any fears in the era of "Alien" and "Predator"? More and more we really do need Martin Gardner's Annotated Alice, along with a fine biography like this one, to detect the jokes, appreciate the parodies, or simply get the point. Morton Cohen maintains that the Alice books have itherto been so universally popular ecause they mirror the anxieties of all children (the arbitrary-seeming injunctions of teachers and parents, the confusions of body-image, changing size, etc.). He may be right, but I suspect that today's kids seldom actually read the Alice stories - the Disney movie is what they know and Carroll has become the preserve of nostalgic or scholarly grown-ups. If this is true, I wish that Cohen had stressed more fully Carroll's true | cept for periodic trips to London for glory: A perfectly cadenced prose, chock-a-block with imaginative word- vacations near the sea at East-



I LUSTRATION SITUOI-NITENIN

Russia with a clergyman friend, the author of Alice in Wonderland lived as uneventful and unruffled an existence as one could imagine. He spent hours answering letters, liked to entertain child-friends in his study with mechanical toys and mathematical games, took sides in petty university debates, and published work in his field: little guidebooks to Euclid, a volume on symbolic logic. To keep up a modern reader's interest, Cohen shrewdly organizes his work thematically so that he constantly circles back to the Alice books: He shows how Dodgson made his im-

mortal story incorporate aspects of an actual little girl (Alice Liddell), elements of Oxford society, univer-sal experiences of childhood, and, deepest of all, a kind of allegorical working out of its author's own nner angst. At the biography's center, though, there always glows that golden afternoon — July 4, 1862 — when the three Liddell sisters and Dodgson went rowing on the river and he first imagined the underground realm of the White Rabbit and the Cheshire Cat. Cohen reiterates the crucial im-

portance of the young scholar's as-sociation with the Liddell family. Alice's father was co-author of the Liddell-Scott Greek lexicon, the fashionable dean of Christ Church, and one of the most powerful men in Oxford. He and Dodgson disgreed about virtually everything. The imperious and ambinous Mrs. Liddell was even more difficult. Cohen asserts, after marshaling the evidence and making a number of guesses, that the 31-year-old Charles may have hinted to Mrs. Liddell that at some future date he might ask for the hand of young Alice, After all, his own brother Wilfred had recently proposed to a 14year-old (whom he married a few years later). Dodgson was probably delicately tentative, but Mrs. Liddel! apparently found the suggestion either obscene or unwanted: She intended her girls to wed the high-born and wealthy. As it turned out, the grown Alice and Queen Victoria's son Leopold fell in love, but this time the young man's even more imperious morn insisted that

he could only marry a real princess (which he eventually did). A class system can cut both ways.

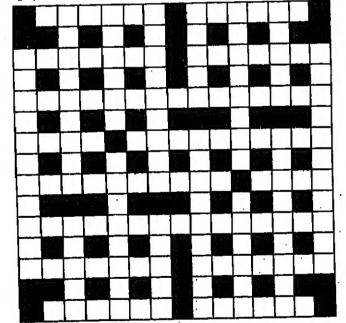
Cohen devotes a half-dozen excellent pages to Dodgson's notorious 'nudities," his photographs of unclothed pre-pubescent girls (four examples survive). How, Colien asks. did he manage to convince straitlaced, upper-class mothers to allow him to take such pictures? Dodgson's subtle, shrewd technique for achieving his desired end - his avowal of a purely artistic interest in the nude, the hints that other children had been photographed in this way, his expressed wish that the mother or another adult should remain nearby during the photo session - reveal a sly, manipulative streak to his character that Cohen tends to downplay.

ODGSON'S photography— he is second only to Julia Cameron as a Victorian portraitist - gave him access not only to children but to many English notables. He visits Tennyson and finds the poet laureate mowing his lawn. He takes some pictures of a little girl who becomes the once-nopular novelist Mrs. Humphry Ward, still others of the mother of Nancy Mitford, the actress grandmother of Sir John Gielgud, the sisters of Bloomsbury's Clive Bell. Girlish of face, dressed always in black, Dodgson, said one contemporary, "always appeared to have emerged from a hot bath and a band box."

Any book about Lewis Carroll is bound to be filled with examples of his wir "Long and painful experience has taught me one great principle in managing business for other people, viz., if you want to inspire confidence, give plenty of statistics. h does not matter that they should be accurate, or even intelligible, so long as there is enough of them." Still, this is not a compendium of japes or jokes; it properly regards its subject as a major author who merits a serious, scholarly life.

This year has been an excellent one for Victorian biography, and Morton N. Cohen's Lewis Carroll belongs on the shelf next to Denis Donoghue's Walter Pater, Juliet Barker's The Brontes and Fiona MacCarthy's William Morris. Together they sound like the guest list for a slightly mad tea party.

Cryptic crossword by Araucaria



Method: Solve the clues and fit the solutions into the diagram jigsaunise wherever they will an

- A Get addicted or become a nun B Plus In piece: he's armed,
- maybe with one (6) C Words disguised for guide to paths of life (4)
- D Nonsense to take lookalike to wife (6.5)
- E Number in new type: there's nothing there (5)
- F Slave raised bird um will it take the air? (9) G Holly, softly tread to Tiffarry's (9)
- J Clive's lot: hot, sarge? Man's first god in bilss (4,7) Old poet, Hebrew (say), that had his price (7)
- mice (3-3) L Left the ship with movement
- M Write whodunnits: who? We do not know (7-3)
- K Troubles here for cat with tale of broad and slow (5)
- N Scots philanthropist finds hitman's sick (7) O Verb in French accord would

- shroud in brick (9) P High-flown words? Pulp chapter - put it straight (6.5)
- while you wait (5)
- S Know this "bad verse" book? Night bird in case (7.3)
- oride (4-3)
- V Priest backed fish, as true as Chaucer's knight (6)
- plight (4)
- Z Farmer (crops or tax?): last soul's in corn (8)

Last week's solution ADDLEMENT MORES
TOUD LOODARE
CABOOSE PARTIAL

Sounds like this and gardens

Subject is the team; they have their place (6)

T Current conflict, carving it with

U Pure left's lost: no challenge is implied (8)

W No grand plano? Indicate one's

X Africans to raise fifth note in Y Bigger harvest: give what from

you's torn? (5,2)

classic pieces, some of them glossed by Moss. Denis Jenkinson's

for a young player with ambitions to

bre report on that same year's Le Mans tragedy, from L'Equipe; Cyril Posthumus's description of the Nurburgring's majestic 14-mile Nordschleife circuit, with its hedges, ditches and 172 corners; and Niki Lauda's inside-the-Vatican account

of his major disagreement with gency that would be dealed a Enzo Ferrari. Or, best of all, the American writer Ken Purdy's essay on Tazio Nu-volari, with its irresistible opening: paragraphs as begin: "Rugby has opened doors to me which would "Now that Nuvolari is dead, buried in

Sultans of Swing Caught in the Act something to do with our lack of ductive periods; many of them are musical sophistication; whatever also works of art.

HE BLUE NOTE YEARS The Jazz Photography Of Francis Wolff By Michael Cuscuna, Charlie Lourie And Oscar Schnider Rizzoll. 203 pp. \$60

Jonathan Yardley

Photographs of the Masters By Jacques Lowe with Bob Blumenthal And Cliff Preiss Artisan, 252 pp. \$40

imports from Germany. It is by now a cliche to say that jazz, which is sometimes called "America's classical music, has always been more highly regarded and closely followed in Europe than in its native land, but it is also true. This probably has something to do with America's cultural inferiority complex something to do with enlightened

the explanation, the Continent has always understood our most original art form better than we have.

line that took Humbert Humbert

into the arms of his Lolita. In

dreams and fantasies, however,

Dodgson may have acted out forbid-

den desires: Hence the feelings of

forgiveness that recur in his diaries,

especially during the years of his in-

fatuation with the winsome Alice.

(One does wonder, however, about

various missing volumes and pages:

Just what did they reveal? Still,

Morton Cohen has studied his man

for 30 years. He concludes, with a

slight defensiveness, that Charles

Lutwidge Dodgson kept his rela-

tions with his child-friends flirta-

tious yet strictly honorable. To

many in this age of Oprah and Ger-

aldo - fit cousins to the Queen of

Hearts and the Caterpillar - that

kind of self-control may seem in-

The Rev. Charles Dodgson spent

credible, even sick in its own way.

virtually his entire adult life at

Christ Church, Oxford, squirreled

away in a sumptuous 10-room nest

above Tom Quad, the very model of

a 19th-century minor cleric (he was

a deacon in the Church of England)

and bachelor mathematics don, Ex-

the theater (he adored Ellen Terry),

sinfulness and the pleas for divine

Both men approached their prelominantly African-American subjects with an openness that was clearly repaid with trust; you can see it in the pictures.

photographer in Germany before coming to America in 1939, but he ing that the two men whose phoyear by his boyhood friend Alfred tographs of jazz musicians are Lion. Initially he took photographs collected in these excellent books of musicians in the firm's studios are not home-grown Americans but | "purely for the love of it," but evenfinctive element of hundreds of album covers" as the long-playing record came to dominate jazz recording in the 1950s. Inasmuch as Blue Note was the most important label for the bop and early wavant-garde jazz of the 1950s and 1960s, Wolff's pictures are a photo-graphic history of one of the

Jacques Lowe by contrast has been a professional photographer

all his working life. Until now he has Francis Wolff was a professional

tually his pictures became la dis-

been best known as the "personal photographer" to John Fitzgerald Kennedy; his pictures of Kennedy and his family had a devoted following during the 1960s and did much o perpetuate the Camelot myth! He is also, it turns out, a jazz lover of sufficient ardor to have undertaken earned his living by working at Blue Note Records, which had contract or advance. He began it in 1992, with the idea of photograph-

> ing every important jazz musician working today." ··· .These two books are both similar and dissimilar. Wolff's photographs cover a historic period in jazz but; because they were taken for a single record company, concentrate upon a fairly narrow slice of it; Lowe casts a wider net but, because of the time at which his work was done, fails to catch: the many great musicians who had died before he began. Both men shot in black and white, but with different aims; Wolff wanted to

sity of the recording studio, while Lowe sought to find the inner person that formal portraiture at its hest reveals.

Both men capture something Americans have never managed to understand about jazz: its utter seriousness. One senses that these men and women, whether performing for a recording engineer or posing for a photographer, are reaching as far inside themselves as it is possible to go, sparing themselves nothing in the process.

HAT THE faces of jazz are un L commonly handsome has been remarked upon elsewhere, but these pictures certainly do confirm it. Joe Henderson as seen by Wolff is the very picture of dignity, the eyeglasses: Among the memorable faces caught in revealing moments by Jacques Lowe, pride of place must go to Harry Edison, Anita O'Day, Clark Terry, Hank Jones, Gerry Mulligan, Art Farmer, Joe Henderson (again) and the entire Modern Jazz Quartet. The serious-European attitudes toward race | music's most important and prot | pin down the spontanelty and intended in a playful mood, has nothing to | list of recommended recordings.

do with putting on airs and everything to do with a profound confidence in the meaning and importance of their art.

The combined freight for the two books is a whopping \$100, which will force many readers to make a difficult choice. This is all the more unfortunate since the books complement each other more than they compete; it is fascinating, for example, to see how gracefully some who came before Wolff's camera in the early 1960s - Sonny Rollins, Horace Silver, Jackie McLean, Kenny Burrell, Art Farmer weathered the years before encoun-

Still, if choices must be made there is a basis for making them, The Wolff collection will appeal to long ash curling off his cigarette lovers of modern jazz generally and the smoke drifting across his the Blue. Note stable specifically: lovers of modern jazz generally and the book is also a work of art itself; nearly poster-size, beautifully de signed and produced. The Lowe book, on the other hand, is smaller and less expensive yet covers more territory. It should be of particular interest to listeners relatively unschooled in Jazz, for each photo is ness that these pictures reveal, even accompanied by a brief biography of when the subject (i.e., Clark Terry) its subject and in many cases by a

© Guardian Publications Ltd., 1995. Published by Guardian Publications Ltd., 164 Deansgate, Manchester, M60 2RR, and printed by WCP Commercial Printing, Leek. Second class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and mailing offices. Registered as a newspapor at the Post Office.

never arrived. It wasn't until two days later that his battered corpse was found, floating in a laundry bag near Clifford Pier in Singapore harbour. He had been badly beaten; his mouth and nose had been sealed with masking tape and three leadweighted diving belts were strapped to his torso.

The body of Witness X was found on April 1, two weeks before he was due to fly to Hong Kong. There he would have identified himself before a Crown colony court as Tommy Chui — and would have betrayed the secrets of a cigarette syndicate involving Chinese triads and corrupt customs officials.

tio

say

Had Chul, a cigarette trafficker, made it to court he could have put on public record what he had already told investigators from Hong Kong's Independent Commission Against Corruption (ICAC). Those statements have prompted a worldwide investigation into detailed allegations which include:

Bribes of up to HK\$100 million (\$12 million) paid by a cigarette syndicate to several employees of the Hong Kong subsidiary of British American Tobacco. (All have since left the company and there has been no suggestion that BAT knew of these bribes or was in any way connected with the Witness X murder in Singapore.)

O Involvement by triad gangs is smuggling to the world's biggest cigarette market, Chins and Taiwan, of many brands which are produced by foreign multi-national firms. ☐ Collusion by corrupt customs

officers and shipping companies in an illicit cigarette trade which is said to cost China up to a \$1 billion in lost revenue each year.

A glance at the official US export and import statistics for cigarettes shows that a third of the world's exports — that is, 280 billion cigarettes "disappear" every year. They are logged out as exports from the US, but somehow drop off the official statistics and are widely assumed to have fallen into the hands of highly organised smugglers. Investigators believe that smuggling on such a scale deprived govern-ments of more than \$15 billion in tax revenues last year.

"The main beneficiaries are the cigarette manufacturers who get paid in full for their product, and the smugglers who make a fortune on every container of cigarettes they divert," says Luc Joossens, a Belwhose business is tracking the complex routes by which smugglers get the cigarettes on the market with-

out having to pay duties. The Chinese government estimates that it loses \$1 billion in revenues annually from black market trading in imported tobacco; the duty on cigarettes in China is up to 420 per cent and cigarette taxes represent 7 per cent of total Chinese tax revenue.

The Belgian port of Antwerp with its vast warehouses is now the main only 430 million. Today, it is more manufactured cigarettes. Last year those are confirmed smokers. Be- came a leading distributor of cigar smuggle. (In 1841, Lord Palmer of the brotherhood; and smokers are confirmed smokers are confirmed smokers. Be- came a leading distributor of cigar smuggle.

HE witness — let's call him it handled 72 billion cigarettes, out Witness X — left for work in of a total of 74 billion imported to his new black Porsche. He i the EU. There are many curiosities of the Antwerp trade: one of them, for example, is that over a third of the cigarettes which arrived there were forwarded to Cyprus --- where even if everyone chain-smoked they couldn't work their way through a fraction of them. Many of these cigarettes are sold to Lebanese businessmen based in Cyprus who then supply them to the Middle Eastern

> Others are shipped to Albania, from where they are broken into smaller consignments to be smuggled into Italy. Others are shipped to Gibraltar, a den for trafficking into Spain, where smuggled Winstons are estimated to make up 10 per cent of the market.

But many of the cigarettes never leave the EU and are simply diverted by criminal gangs while in transit. Customs officials estimate that two lorry-loads of cigarettes go missing every day: that's 20,000,000 cigarettes. In some cases, forged customs documents are handed in to support claims that the cigarettes left the EU and that no import taxes are due. In other cases, lorries are



The new opium of the people... China is now the world's largest market in illegal cigarette trading

simply hijacked by gangs while in transit. The profits on a container of tax-free cigarettes are enormous some \$60,000 - and the risks relatively low. If the container is seized, the loss is only the \$21,000 it cost to buy the consignment. The risks are much lower than the drugs trade, cial pariahs.

But this is relatively minor illicit business. When James "Buck" Duke, founder of the business empire now known as British American Tobacco, first heard of a new cigarette-making machine, he shouted: "Bring me the atlas." He pointed to one vast country in particular:
"That", he said, "is where we are going to sell cigarettes."

He was talking of China - and in Buck Duke's day, its population was

Nearly a third of the 910 billion cigarettes exported last year 'disappeared' only to be amuggled back on to the marketplace at a cost of © Cyprus Hong Kong some \$15bn in lost taxes. Cigarettes are shipped tax free from the UK and JS. Traffickers buy them and provide customs with false or forged documents to 'prove' that they have been re-exported. Sales boom as igarettes are diverted via the blackmarker to Europe, China, and South America.

fore the 1949 Communist revolution, half of BAT's profits came from China: the BAT brand, State Express 555, was Mao Zedong's favourite smoke. Along with other the other multinationals, BAT is scrambling to get back into a market four times bigger than that of the entire former Soviet Union, the other major growth area.

Anti-smoking campaigners feel that the rush to sell cigarettes to China now is very much like the opium trade, which began early in the 19th century when international trading firms cold-bloodedly set out to make as many Chinese as possible addicted to the drug, and then profitably supply that addiction. Hong Kong itself was seized from China by Britain after the 1841 Opium War mostly as an amenable place from which to do business in the drug. Like today's multinationals, opium traders hired lawyers and experts to debunk the "mischievous fallacy" that opium is addictive and dangerous: "The use of opium is not a curse but a comfort to hardworking Chinese," argued that no-table Hong Kong firm, Jardine and Matheson.

Because of import restrictions in China, foreign cigarettes are only meant to be available in special tourist shops, but two recent reports, one by NatWest securities, the other by Salomon Brothers, point out that BAT actually controls half the market for imported cigarettes in China. A former BAT eniployee supplied information which was substantiated by market analysts: that 20 per cent of BAT's 1993 profits — around \$200 million was based on revenue from cigarettes subsequently smuggled into

Worldwide cigarette consumption fell slightly last year, but western manufacturers are booming, thanks to the demand for mild-tasting status-symbol brands in Russia, Eastern Europe, Southeast Asia and

Crucial to this are distributors like Giant Island Limited, a firm which Witness X helped set up in pacco traffickers are not so- 1986 and which he later accused of paying bribes and smuggling bil-lions of cigarettes to China and Taiwan. Between 1986 and 1993, Giant Island and associate firms purchased more than \$1 billion of

cigarettes, mostly from BAT. A former director of the firm and partner of Witness X, Chong Tsuijun, has been charged with tax fraud. Also in detention is a former Hong Kong customs officer, Henfrey Tin, arrested in connection

with smuggling allegations. Between 1986 and 1993, Glant thorities to reduce taxes and trade

rettes for BAT Company (Hong | ston said, when the Chinese retain Kong) Limited, a subsidiary of Britain's third largest firm, BAT Industries Group. It also peddled Japanese cigarettes purchased from a Hong Kong subsidiary of Japan Tobacco International Ltd. It has been alleged that Giant Island increased its highly profitable rela-tionship with BAT through pay-offs to staff.

In a Hong Kong court last month, magistrate reviewing charges against Chong, referred to very large sums of money paid by Giant Island to Jerry Lui, BAT's former export director, who has left Hong Kong. Bank records, the magistrate added, showed that "very large sums of money were paid to Jerry Lui" from an account used by Giant Island. He found no evidence to link Chong to such money, suggesting the real culprit was another partner. "We are aware of the bribery alle-

gations against former BAT employees," said Ms Knight of BAT in Hong Kong, *BAT has a corporate ethics policy which does not permit the acceptance of material gifts or incentives backed by strong management controls. No one has been dismissed for taking bribes."

B AT runs a large factory in Hong Kong and also uses the territory as its regional headquarters. Instead of selling directly to the retail market, it relies on authorised distributors. Some of these dealers focus on the llong Kong market itself, buying duty-pald cigarettes for sale inside the territory. Others, like Giant Island concentrate on the more lucrative export trade.

Professor Judith Mackay, an antimoking campaigner based in Hong Kong, says that illegal trafficking does not damage the business of the multinationals. It develops brand loyalty in new markets: They lose nothing from smuggling. It makes their cigarettes cheaper. This means more people can afford them and take up the habit." Most smuggled cigarettes carry no health warnings.

The NatWest Securities report noted that BAT had maintained sales to China despite tight import restrictions imposed in 1993: "Since BAT's cigarettes reach the Chinese market through informal channels, mostly via Hong Kong, this has had little effect on actual volume."

BAT declined to comment specifically on what "informal channels" might involve and said only: "We are aware that some of our products do end up in China. We do not condone this and have lobbled Chinese au-

ated against the foreign traders by banning opium imports and res olutely confiscating and destroying their stock-in-trade: "While the opium trade is forbidden by law, it must inevitably be carried on by fraud and violence.") For smugglers to avoid China

heavy duty and strict controls on in

GUAPICIAN WEELLY

December 24 199

ports demands meticulous planning. but the profits are immense and the penalties far less severe than for drug trafficking. A favourite ploy a legedly used by Giant Island was b. arrange a secret rendezvous in the South China Sea for ships which had been loaded up with cigarettes from bonded warehouses in Hong Kong and Singapore. The cigarettes would then be transferred to fishing touts, out of the many small and large Chinese ports, for an onward jour ney. Fearful of pirates, impostes and government officials, the smutglers identified each other using pre-arranged code — the serial nonber of a Chinese banknote. Earl month as many as 100,000 hoxes. containing a total of one billion cigrettes, entered the Chinese marks

How did an experienced multim tional like BAT become entangle with an outfit as dubious as Clark b land? When a rival cigarette trake started to cut into its business with BAT, Glant Island called on the ser vices of gangators like Bearied Lam, Dark Cow and Tall Faity, and it is this kind of triad connection which may have led to the death of Witness X. Police have now issued arrest warrants for five suspected killers, all of them known member of the Wo On Lok Triad Society which is more elegantly called Shi Fong (Water and Wind).

One of these is Johnny Cheme former prison officer jailed in Gia gow in 1988 for attempted municipal and currently under mainland Ch nese detention in Beijing Hot. Kong authorities have saked that be handed over for questioning. Witness X's murder certain

seemed like a Chinese gangland ecution. That black Porsche of b was later found in a parking gang on the fourth floor - four 5 number with strong connotations death in Chinese; its keys were on the ground, arranged in the signia of a triad gang.

The murderers even left a coo explanation of their deed. The fire diving belts they fastened to ness X before dumping him in gapore harbour each had a diffe number of lead weights. One four, another five, another six a configuration, say experts is arcane lore of triad numerologi

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

APPOINTMENTS/COURSES 15

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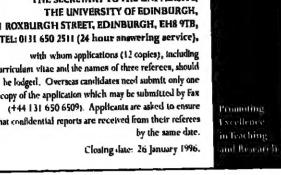
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Dreaming of a green Christmas

Multicultural schools are replacing the Nativity story with a more earthly message, writes Lyn Gardner

a tizz, and the archangel Gabriel is in hot dispute with minor cherub. At St Luke's Church of England primary school in Kingston upon Thames, the fourand five-year-olds are getting ready for the third-and-final performance of the annual Nativity play.

Within minutes, peace will have broken out and the play will begin. Mary will be serene, with a smile as nigmatic as that of the Mona Lisa, the host of seraphim and cherubim will be positively angelic, the lambs fully, and the singing, if not exactly celestial, certainly loud enough to drown out an entire heavenly choir.

You might think that at this time of year scenes like this would be enacted in schools all over the country, but in fact with the exception of thurch schools like St Luke's, the customary Nativity play is fast becoming as much of a rarity as beef on school dinner menus and TVfree Christmases

Mary, Joseph and the Baby Jesus are no longer automatically taking centre stage when it comes to the

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HE Virgin Mary is in a bit of a traditional Nativity play — itself a residuum from the ancient liturgical dramas and the medieval Feast of Fools celebration combined, with a dash of Victorian sentimentality is giving way to the 90-second Nativity, the Nativity scene from the innkeeper's point of view, from the shepherds' point of view, even the

donkey's point of view. In some schools, the Nativity is being eased out altogether or relegated to the tots in the nursery. Increasingly, the Baby Jesus is getting the same billing as Santa, the tooth fairy and Rudolf the Red-Nosed

But while some parents feel cheated if they don't get to see their little darling dressed in a white sheet sporting a tinsel halo, others welcome the shift of emphasis.

ney primary school where 22 languages are spoken and 38 per cent of the children speak a first language other than English, Christmas is just one of any number of religious festivals that the school aims to celebrate. In last year's

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The real question at urban, multicultural schools like Gayhurst is not whether to do a Nativity play but how to negotiate the issue of Christ-

tween meeting parental, staff and the children's expectations of what they see outside the school, and also meeting the needs of those children in the school for whom Christmas doesn't happen at all," says head teacher Diane Roome.

slation requires schools to provide religious education and collective worship that is of a broadly Christian character, the introduction of National Curriculum has

IT'S TO RAISE AWARENESS OF GLOBAL WARMING.

At schools like Gayhurst, a Hack-

annual Christmas school show. The | Christmas show, which took the

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mas altogether. We have to walk a thin line be

Ironically, while government leg-



mands of the syllabus that no one can summon the energy to practise "Away in a Manger" unless they can find a way to link the properties of straw or the mean average winter temperature of stables into key stages One and Two of the National urriculum.

"It's important that children have opportunity to experience and take part in productions. The sheer amount of teamwork and cooperation involved is an education for the children in itself," says Patrice Baldwin, head of Tunstead primary, a rural primary school in Norfolk, and chair of the Primary School National Drama Panel.

They know all about teamwork at latchmere Junior School In Kingston upon Thames. On the stage of the school hall an age-old struggle between good and evil is taking place. But the opposing forces are not angels and devils, but the Greys and the Greens.

In A Green Christmas, an environmental musical, the Greys, led by Main Threat and his assistants Miss Guided and Miss Led, are trying to convince everyone that environmental problems don't exist. Meanwhile the Greens, led by Con-Servation and Lorraine Forest, want to persuade humans to use the Earth's resources sparingly. Christmas could be threatened unless the Greens win.

Six teachers and around 90 chil-

FEATURES 17

theme of light, the Nativity was fea-tured (the 90-second version) but so too was the Hindu festival of Diwali.

hastened the demise of the Nativity play. In some schools, teachers and pupils are so exhausted by the de-September, a rehearsal period that compares rather favourably with the National Theatre.

"Our children are quite a sophisticated bunch," explains Wendy Allen, Latchmere's English coordinator and the director of A Green Christmas. "We have to look for a show that has a theme that will excite and interest the children. This year they've been involved in a project to improve the environment of the playground so this musical fits n rather well."

But if A Green Christmas seems far removed from the traditional Nativity. Wendy Allen is determined to make a link. To this end, she has provided a coda to the play that paradoxically provides the show's strongest dramatic moment.

As a star appears in the night sky signifying the end of the grey era and a new beginning for the world. the Three Wise Men appear at the back of the hall and slowly make their way to the front, three small, imeless figures taking a long walk nto eternity.

Around the corner at St Luke's. he strains of "Away in a Manger" die away for the second time. Parents beam at their angels beatifically. The angels beam back.

After the performance, as the Virgin Mary skips homewards, I ask her if she is looking forward to Christmas, "Don't be silly," she says crossly, "we've just had Christmas."

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> Menchester M60 28R England

Donated paintings are replacing fish tanks in hospital wards. They cost less, don't need feeding and are proving to be therapeutic, writes Maggie O'Kane

HEN a speedy thief managed to prise a small worker called Sheridan Russell painting from the wall at who, against all opposition from the the Chelsea and Westminster Hosas to who would confess to the art co-ordinator, Susan Loppert. She was presumably relieved that it wasn't the £1 million Veronese hanging in the chapel. Loppert said it was great that the thief was so moved by the painting that he or she felt the need to steal it.

She is passionate about the therapeutic value of art in hospitals and vehemently defends the £400,000 in donations spent at the Chelsea and Westminster over the past two years.

The critics are everywhere. Lady Bobby Abbot was taking coffee in the hospital's atrium; "I'm all for having jolly things around the hospital to cheer things up, but really, how many old ladies' hip replacements could have been done for that." That is Allen Jones's 60ft seal with a gigantic red ball stretching on to the hospital's third floor. The cost, £100,000. How many hips?

Loppert sighs: "None of the noney we've spent is coming out of the NHS. It comes from donations by people who believe that art helps people to get better. It's not a question of deciding between a painting and a hip operation.

Chelsea and Westminster Hospi tal is bigger than Wembley stadium and a triumph of light and space. hangings are either commissioned from the Arts Council or from the Paintings in Hospitals charity, set up

A Country

CKHAM, SURREY. For the two

the Hindu Kush the continuous

background noise to our lives was

the roar of the Lotkoh River. In win-

ter it was clear running, fordable

and benign. By mid-summer it was thick with sediment, a seething, un-

Now, back in darkest Surrey, we

hear every early morning and

evening a similar sound from across

a dozen fields. You could call the

And there are other similarities

and distinctions. Instead of the hilar-

ious mynahs striding like gawky, be-

spectacled school girls across the

M25 a river of sorts.

and a half years that we lived in

Diary

Michael Binnle

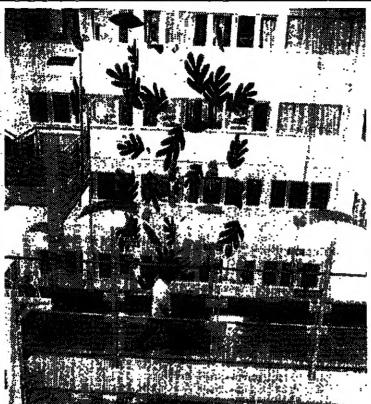
hospital adminstration, borrowed paintings from friends and artists to exhibit them in the National Hospital in Queen's Square in London. Paintings in Hospitals now rents out 1,500 contemporary British paintings for £15 a year each.

The driving force at Chelsea and Vestminster is Dr James Scott, who chairs the hospital's art selection committee. Dr Scott found that patients in the pre-op anaesthetic room of the old Westminster Hospital, which had a ceiling painted with a scene from a summer's day, went under with much less stress than those gazing at the usual magnolia

And it is not just the patients who benefit. Susan Wilson, a former nurse who now works with Paintings in Hospitals, talks of the comfort she took from a print of Picasso's mother and child hanging in the ward while nursing a dying boy, "The child's parents never came to see him and the nurses picked up

Dr Raphael Eban, the charity's honorary director, feels that hospitals are moving in the right direction: "There are fish tanks going in and I say to them, 'Get paintings instead. They cost £15 for the year and you don't have to feed them.' The ethos is now seeping into mainstream health care. This month Westminster Health Care launched directly from artists or are on loan | a pilot project for two old people's homes in London and has commissloned students at the Roehampton

Letter from Saskatchewan Teresa Harley



Artful distractions . . . Mobiles form part of the colourful collection t London's Chelsea and Westminster Hospital PHOTOGRAPH: SEAN SMITH

institute of Art to provide works for

The history of art in British hospitals is gloomy. Rich benefactors saw the donations of religious paintings to hospitals as a deposit for heaven when their time came. At the Hospital of St Wulstan, dying patients were taken to a room where the panels were painted with scenes hat included St Erasmus on a windass being disembowelled. On the wall opposite was St Michael weighing souls to decide their destiny. Today at the Chelsea and Westminster, patients see the long silk banners of Patrick Heron dancing in the

"looks awful from the outside, but inside it's an example of the best of late 20th century architecture. We vant to fill it with examples of the best of late 20th century art and the artists want to be here - so we get a good price. We're not having Franis Bacon or Damien Hirst, Here it's oright and hopeful, designed to take people's minds off the nasty processes they are going through." At the hospital's open day, earlier

"This hospital", says Loppert,

this year, 1,500 people came to tour the hospital. Asked about what impressed them most, the operating the atres were in first place. The second most popular feature was the art.

blizzard he started work at a hospi-

tal in a small town 80 miles south of

Saskatoon and spent the next few

"I brought a lot of warm clothes,

but they weren't made for this," he

said. "This is the first time I've ever

seen snow." We know he's catching

on, though, because he acknowl-

edged, "Yes, it's cold, but it's a dry

Perhaps we'll wait a while before

days getting his first practical expe-

rience of treating hypothermia.

Word from the House

OBITUARY SIr Francis Boyd

IN THE 1938 crisis over Garmany's threat to invade Czecho slovakia, Neville Chamberlain me in the Commons to prepare the House for almost certain war, he fore the end of his speech he was: handed a note inviting him to meet Hitler in Munich.

The Manchester Guardian's new parliamentary sketch writer was Francis Boyd, who has died aged 85. He was then only 28, young for one of the paper's senior reporting posts, but he started his story in way that precisely reflected the country's strange mood on that or traordinary occasion: "Members of the House of Commons got as new tuday to a sense of the peace of Godthat passeth all understanding as human beings are ever likely to do."

This account was given by Dail Ayerst in his history of the Guardian up till 1956. He did not remark on the subtle resonances and the touch of sardonic ambiguity in Boyd's use of the phrase, "that parseth all understanding", but it forms' part of a piece of writing that show the pre-war Manchester Guardian a

"Sardonic" is a word which we described Boyd. In his 30 post-war years as the paper's lobby correspondent and then its political edtor, he was renowned for his night telephone calls to the news desk when the House was sitting: "Boyd here, B-Q-Y-D, I'm the political cor respondent. I'll be here tonight the Government falls."

After Ilkley Grammar School and Silcoates, near Wakefield, Boyl joined the Leeds Mercury, aged 18 in 1928. Six years later he went to the Manchester Guardian as a reporter and in 1937 was appoint



we knew we were getting back to normal when the local paper told the story of a doctor who had arrived here from South Africa a few days earlier. On the morning of the

dents trying to get home before the storm hit, lost power and stalled a couple of hundred yards from a farmhouse. It took the farmer over an hour to drive his tractor through gale force winds and zero visibility before he could get to the bus with a heater, blankets and food. A school teacher, following

We chuckle over the story of the English immigrant who, fooled by a beautiful blue sky and bright sunshine, went out for a walk in his shirtsleeves when the mercury had slumped to minus twenty. The fun increases if the newcomer has

lawn, we have slow-moving, rather never seen snow before. stately pheasants picking their way During our first winter delicately over the grass. A regular visitor is a green woodpecker who workers were disappointed when I has currently abandoned woodwasn't excited about the white stuff. unlike the Australian woman who'd pecking and hops a little clumsily about the lawn earnestly forking the | had my job before me. She had gone outside in her nightie and

Below our house the ground falls danced in the snow. But this December, we supposaway to a water meadow where edly acclimatised residents were the most mornings a temperature inversion creates a lake of gossamer ones taken by surprise. We were thin mist. Hidden below it this warned that a severe blizzard was morning was a flock of some 200 blowing in from the west, and we wood pigeons feeding. When they knew road conditions were going to be impossible. However, we saw me they burst up through the mist in a clattering explosion of thought we could handle it. Consewing beats and scattered to distant quently, there were multiple car pile-ups behind jack-knifed semi-

Cold enough for you? NE OF the simple pleasures | trailer trucks, and dozens of mo-

we prairie people have is torists waiting to be rescued. watching newcomers begin One rural school bus full of stuto realise just how fierce our winters can be. "Cold enough for you, yet?" we ask, as toes, eyelashes and everything in between freeze, and are disappointed if the incomer isn't suitably shocked and appalled by the prospect of several months of below-zero temperatures. We alwavs remind them that at least it's a

school bus in her truck, went off the road into the ditch and was stranded or five hours as the driver's cab of er truck filled with snow driven in by the winds. Fortunately, she had a mobile phone, so people knew where she was. But it still took two farmers five hours to get to her, even though they were only a mile or so away. When her rescuer opened the truck buried in snow. One of the farmers got his ears and face frostbitten but denied he was a hero. "There was someone out there, so we had to find

them," he said. All across the province volunteer firefighters, ambulance crews and the police struggled to rescue stranded motorists. "We all have farm backgrounds," one said, implying they were used to prairie surprises, and to helping people in trouble. Highways were closed, and the winds were so flerce people

were literally blown off their feet.

we tell him the joke about the researchers at the University of Saskatchewan, here in Saskatoon, who discovered that people who live in cold climates like ours are more intelligent than the softies who live where it's always nice and warm. more winter like this one and we'll all get smart enough to move some place else. Where to go, though? We're told

by the UN that Canada is the best country in the world to live in. A Canadian economist, using the UN's criteria, has decided that Saskatchewan is the best province. So now the search is on for the best community in Saskatchewan. One reporter put her money on Climax just because of the name. I hear on the radio that they're experiencing their third blizzard of the winter, but The force of the storm was I'm sure it's a dry cold,

he provided the bedrock of the paper's political reporting.

At Westminster he was add for his integrity, anti-elitism and his firm, liberal belief that it was ret. CINEMA for society's better-off to provid money through taxation to impro

the lot of the less so.

It was this underlying social or science which made him an intity science which made him an intity typal Guardian man and full justified his knighthood in 1976. The justified his knighthood in 1976. The justified his knighthood in 1976. The justified his knighthood. "They've just ask me once again, as an addendancept a knighthood. "They've justified his family and then phoned Number Ten to complain.

DEAR Aunt Marjorie, care was an intity to christmas comes but once a must be among those gliad it isn't take me once again, as an addendant to your Christmas card, what you can take the kids to see the holiday. It's emphatically not the season in which one ber Ten to complain.

John Bourne

John Francis Boyd, Journalist, boll July 11, 1910; died December 10,

Raising the company profile | Song and dance fails to hide

Twyla Tharp meets the Royal Ballet and creates a rare collaboration, writes Judith Mackrell

T'S PILGRIM'S Progress meets Petipa; it's commedia dell'arte meets Alice In Wonderland; it's Heaven's angels having a hoe down. Definitions don't come easy with Mr Worldly Wiseman, Twyla Tharp's new work for the Royal Ballet, partly because it scales so many dif-ferent levels of fantasy, partly because it uses so many styles of dance and partly because it sometimes tells a story — and sometimes leaves you hanging. Certainly, it's like no Opera

House three-act ballet you've ever scen. Its plot has a morality rather than fairy-tale logic - and its hero Mr WW is a wild, garrulous figure, an artist turned mad by his own grandiose imaginings.

He's abetted in his excess by an apprentice, Master Bring-the-Bag, and as his life nightmarishly disintegrates he encounters Mistress Truth-on-Toe who leads him to a realm of art. Here, Mr WW learns discipline and humility, and when he returns to the world he's ready to leave everything to his apprentice and follow his muse to the stars.

David Roger's designs add a wonderful madness to this plot, particularly in Act 1 where Mr WW wanders through a magic lantern world of gaudy, fugitive images, peopled by cartoon eccentrics in fancy dress who begin, bizarrely, to um into dancing vegetables.

Act 2 is all white light while Act 3 is a Victorian watercolour that turns into the cosmos when Mr WW deides to follow his fate. The excerpts from Rossini which make up the score are equally vividly eclectic. The famous yowling cat duet is used to torment Mr WW in his madness. he overture from William Tell sends the apprentice skidding ound the stage, limpid pinno music eccompanies the serenity of Act 2, while the Kyrie from the Petite lesse solennelle is Mr WW's own

But the dancing trumps every thing for variety, with escalating leas of male dancing; silent movie clases and astounding leaps of logic where a shiminying jazz move turns into a grand ballerina exit or where are classic dance turns goofily flattoted and giggly.

let the problem with having so any images orbiting around the control. And there are two reasons why the ballet feels insufficiently baroque brilliance than even he thought possible — his tiny deadly body flashing round the stage and Darcey Bussell is all grand simplicity - the still centre of the ballet. Yet this isn't just a work for the

enough - during much of Act 1 we don't know what all their banter and principles. For a supporting quartet, Tharp invents a new classicism Secondly, though the score's variety works perfectly as incidental where razor-cut speed is decorated with lavish sensuality and proportions are thrown into the air and realigned in breathtaking new symthe ballet. Too often we feel left out metries. With the ensemble, she in the cold. But if the ballet isn't as has bodies sparking flercely and consistently good as certain moedgily off each other, then forming configurations so exquisite they still triumphantly together by the chore-ography and its love affair with the

For Mr Wordly Wiseman is that very rare thing — a company ballet in which every dancer looks important and wonderful. The audience roared its approval but the dancers many images orbiting around the gauche. Tetsuya Kumakawa, as the even more will love Tharp for the plot is that they sometimes fly out of apprentice, dances with more gift she's made them.

the heartache and solitude

THEATRE Michael Billington

USICALS don't have to be fat I trite and expensive. They can also, like Stephen Sondheim's Company, be sharp, witty and lean. But what distinguishes Sam Mendes's fine revival at London's Donmar Warehouse from Harold Prince's original 1970 production is that it brings out even more clearly the heartache and solitude that lies underneath the show's snappy. revue-like structure.

Mendes not only pays as much attention to George Furth's book as he does to Sondheim's music and lyrics, he has also come up with a framework that defines the show's

The story deals with a 35-year-old Manhattan bachelor's shifting relationship with five married couples and three girlfriends. But in Mendes's production, birthday boy Robert sits alone in his stylish loft conjuring up his friends as if they were simply figures in his dream.

This gets right to the heart of the natter: that it's the story of a born loner who realises he is defined by other people's expectations. To his chum's wives he is both desirable sex object and proof of Wilde's dicturn that "in married life, three's company, two's none". To his transient dates, he is a good lay and listener but a man of mystery. Soudheim's revisions

Centre piece . . . Darcey Bussell is all grand simplicity in Twyla eighten the bero's dilemma: whether to sacrifice busy solitude for emotional commitment. He has restored a first-act number, "Marry Me a Little", that exactly exposes Robert's nebulous idea of a relationship ("keep a tender distance so we'll both be free"), And this is precisely balanced by the closing song. "Being Alive", in which Roberts yearns for the demands of partnership and "someone to crowd you

> Sondheim even addresses the question of whether Robert is gay: the answer is just a little but never quite enough. This version digs deeper without

destroying the punch and point of the dazzling individual numbers. The highlight is Sophie Thompson's brilliant rendering of "Getting Married Today", in which her headlong pattern reveals the blind panic of a bride on her wedding morning. But Adrian Lester, in a stunning performance, adds a new dimension to Robert by suggesting that the big naivety may be even worse.

showbiz number, "Side by Side", is the fantasy of a lonely cokehead. Mendes, as in his revival of Cabaret, has rethought a classic musical from top to bottom. His version may not have the glitz of Prince's original. But he has sharpened the key point: that Sondheim and Furth are writing, with compassionate wit.

about a man trying to escape the.

promiscuous demands of friendship

to discover just who and what he is. It's all a matter of taste. I readily concede there is a faint touch of early Goon Show about Charles Wood's version of Alexandre Dumas' French Romantic drama The Tower at London's Almeida Theatre. When, for instance, a loyal servant rushed into a darkened cell looking for his trussed-up leader and cried "Capitaine, ou ètes-vous?". the theatre was filled with the sound of barely suppressed titters.

Yet, for all its occasional absurdities, I found this revival of Dumas' ripe historical melodrama a hundred times more enjoyable than Les Miserables, with all its solemn banalities. For a start, it has a driving. pulsating narrative; something we have lost sight of in modern theatre. The story revolves around Marguerite de Bourgogne, married to Louis X, who has an unfortunate habit of luring her lovers to a tower, making love to them in masked guise and then somewhat recklessly dispatching them into the Seine, A dashing Burgundy captain blackmails Marguerite in order to achieve state power and then reyeals that two of her lovers are . out, no, that would be telling.

Written in 1832, the play has all the qualities you expect of melodrama: fixed characters, bags of plot, an atmosphere of duplicity, lust and intrigue. This undercuts Howard Davies's production, which goes all out for full-blooded conviction and which boasts a magnificent set by John Napier dominated by clattering iron grilles, a crepuscular walkway and a sinister central tower with cryptic torsos embedded in the

The actors, for the most part, also play it blessedly straight. Sinead Cusack, in leather corset and gingery wig, hurls herself uninhibitedly into the role of the royal adulteress, and Adrian Dunbar is both saturnine and suave as her persecutor. Highflown tosh? Probably. But, in the wise words of Kenneth Tynan, they guifaw presumptuously who guiffaw at the naivety of the past: their own .

A little piglet goes to market

Derek Malcolm

ly not the season in which one hes to storm the doors of the

cal cinema, especially not n dragging recalcitrant chilen intent on eating half the kly over-priced wares in the ber Once inside, one might

well be faced with a film about a but it's almost as if some wet-snouted, orphaned piglet Australian with more than who speaks American and badly passing interest in Buffue know that even you, let alone feroclous little Willie, would balk

Tharp's new work, Mr Worldly Wise

grounded. The first is that Tharp

doesn't establish the character of

Mr WW and his sidekick clearly

drama it's not coherent enough to

construct an imaginative world for

ments promise it's held

Mukhamedov is larger than life -

Intemperate, funny, passionate and gauche. Tetsuya Kumakawa, as the

madness is about.

As a matter of fact, that's exactly what you'll get if you go along to Chris Noonan's Babe. But don't turn fall and run. Just settle down with your popcorn and try to last the first 20 min-

utes. By that time, you might well be hooked.

It's not the greatest film in the world—those American voices, for instalice, are a trial, but it delies all usual expectations.

Quite why is difficult to explain,

Australian with more than a passing interest in Buffuel has been engaged to make a Disney Yuletide attraction.

The film ought to be cloying, but is very seldom so, it ought to he pretty silly too, but it has a tongue in-cheek irony that doesn't fall into parody and still allows us to want the piglet to emerge triumphant. One is at a loss to know whether it is a spin-off of Animal Farm or Cold

fects, though doubtless difficult to achieve, aren't all that wonderful, and others don't really convince at all.... But it's the general tone that

sure. Babe (the piglet) is won in a weight-guessing rafile by farmer Hoggett, who allows Fly, his sheepdog, to raise him with her pupples. He is also succoured by an elderly sheep and an equally eccentric duck. Babe manages to avoid becoming.
Christmas dinner, and when
Hoggett tries him out herding sheep, his dogs are so furlous.... they have to be sedated. The lift

him that George Miller, who made the Mad Max films, is the producer and co-wrote,the acreenplay. That may persuade him to give it a go.

As for yourself, I know you like animals and the cast also includes a Yorkshire pig, two borier collies, an Indian runner duck, two border Leicester sheep and a blue Persian cat. More seriously, it's the story of someone who badly wants to be different and, in the end, queceeds in doing so by changing the natural order of things.

Sally Singer

The Way We Are by Margaret Visser Viking 305pp £14

ARGARET VISSER is a African-born. who has made a name for herself through explorations of the basis of modern eating habits and table manners. Her general thesis, as advanced in Much Depends On Dinner and The Rituals Of Dinner, was hardly original - daily routines and material culture speak volumes about a society, if not a civilisation, But the breadth of her knowledge and the genial, common-sensical tone with which she scoured her findings for evidence of binary oppositions (male/female, public/private) was, somehow, utterly charming: Lévi-Strauss meets Reader's Digest. In The Way We Are, a new collec-

tion of her magazine columns, Visser's obsessive, eclectic gaze takes in not only food (caviar, Jell-o, fava beans, etc) and manners (greetings, kisses, tipping), but fashlon (high heels, swimwear, gloves), mannerisms (slips of the tongueblushing, blank-faced stares), seasonal icons and special rituals (Santa Claus, parades, the Easter Bunny) and a host of general categories.

Visser is at her best when discoursing on food or fashion; her magpie approach well serves one's desire, in these areas, for the trinketry of detail. Thus we learn that "18th century Irish chickenskin gloves were . . . cut from the skins of aborted calves, and so fine that they came folded in the shell of a walnut"; or, "restaurants derive their name from a Paris establishment that offered only soups: it advertised them in 1765 as restaurants divins, divine restorers"; or, "Braniff International ended the plain plane in 1966, offering "stews" [stewardesses] who made several costume changes en route, ending with hot pants." Visser asserts that "with the baby

Robin Hunt

The Road Ahead

by Bill Gates Viking 286pp £17.50

THE THING about Orson

least he had his Rosebud. At

least he got into trouble over

Until recent reports that

Microsoft is being investigated

Internet software, we have en-

joyed no such excitements with

our very own Kane, Bill Gates.

True or not, the suggestion does

introduce a certain snaky charm

This is a quality sadly lacking

in Citizen Gates's 286 pages of

blue skies, nirvana — and not a

sonal revelation is on page 206;

mention of God anywhere.

The nearest we get to per-

"I used to date a woman who

spent a lot of time together on

e-mail. And we figured out a

lived in a different city. We

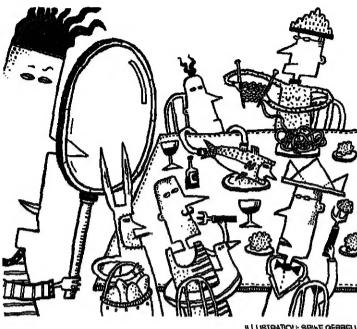
make his Xanadu a gothic

deliberately disables rival

to the man who founded

girls, and had the good grace to

Welles's Citizen Kane was,



boom following the second world war, we knitted hysterically for our offspring" and reminds us that once, swimsuits were more like winter jumpers than gym-wear there was a feeling that wool kept one warm in the water". She relates the advice offered by the Jell-o company to customers wishing to fill a swimming pool with the colourful, quivering stuff - "it is simply not wise to risk getting it up one's nose"; and by the vegetarian Pythagoras to his followers: "Abstain from beans!" The essays which proceed from a more general

In place of lively historical titbits Visser can succumb to Desmond Morris-like blanket pronouncements about "universal" cultural meanings and un-ironic adages better suited to needlepoint samplers: "A very good way to defuse and rise above a crowd's contempt is to make an even larger crowd laugh with you, even if it's at yourself," the skimpy grey underwear be-Surprisingly, her pithy mix of anec-dote and analogy also proves ill-article.

way we could sort of go to the movies together. We'd find a

film that was playing at about

cities. We'd drive to our respec-

cellular phones. We'd watch the

tive theatres, chatting on our

movie, and on our way home

we'd use our cellular phones t

The problem with The Road

Ahead is that it is full of this

bloodless, no fluids please.

we're on-line future-speak.

thing: he's had that far longer

than most of us, but he isn't ex-

actly a preacher, more the con-

ference speaker who gets the

ing a host of the most "basic"

century medicine man. The

Road Ahead offers an easy

stomach the leaden prose.

nous communications into

asynchronous forms."

Hence: "It is human nature to

flud ways to convert synchro-

computer facts with the Teflon

utopianism of a successful 19th

Infobahn-like view that should

appeal to everyone - if they can

Functionally written, combin-

first slot after lunch.

Passionate times ahead, then?

discuss the show."

the same time in both our

Poor Citizen Gates needs to get a life

suited to discussions of folkloric figures and practices, like Santa Claus and valentines, whose mysterious origins and myriad incarnations re-

quire a more rigorous investigator. Still, even when less than convincing as social criticism, there is something winning about Visser's writing. She has such faith in human ingenuity, in the world we've inherited and the one we've made, and wants so much to awaken us to its possibilities and potentials (for example, we can save the Sturgeon population if only we give up our historically and class-specific taste for caviar), that it is impossible not to enjoy her whimsical yet learned musings.

A final note: a curious editorial decision has led to a brief biblio-graphy appearing at the end of each essay. If Visser's sources had been grouped together at the end of the collection, they would have seemed formidably diverse. As presented, however, they are revealed (to reheat a phrase of John Updike's) as

It tries in vain to make Gates a Lord Reith of the Net waves. A

Gates's thesis is common

place. Open Net access to all,

learning for life, global commu-

video-conferences, e-mail. Gates

nication, lovely talk-to-granny-

problems to some government

somewhere. But not all social

problems. "When teachers do

excellent work and prepare won-

derful materials, only their few

dozen pupils benefit each year,"

Microsoft were to own teachers'

material then all that thinking

could be turned into software.

Windows, not only 95, but 99, 2004 and even 3954.

He is a rich young man, with

poker more than studying, to set

Who knows, if he'd stayed on

he might even have dated more

alised that being a have-not was

about more than not possessing

women in the same city. Or re-

seemingly only virtual interests;

one who goofed off from

up Microsoft.

a lap-top computer.

Harvard, where he enjoyed

What he means is that if

feels free to leave the social

social thinker.

Farewell to all that

David McKle

Who Goes Home? Scanes from a by Roy Hattersley Little, Brown 315 pp £17.99

ICHAEL FOOT, that dear, doomed leader of the Labour Party, once wrote an astringent letter to his subordi nate Roy Hattersley, requiring his resignation from the Labour front ench. Not for heretical doctrine or words spoken out of turn; the offence, as the culprit at last discovered, when his leader's tirade reached its end, was that he had blaspherned in his Guardian Endpiece column against Foot's chershed heroine, Dorothy Parker. I have to say, in much the same

spirit, that despite its delights, this farewell to political life (Hattersley is due to retire at the next election) knocks a huge and perhaps irreparable hole in its author's credibility. This is not because he's bowed out with an entertainment, rather than a political credo, or one of those ponderous works of auto-hagiography with which politicians shuffling off into-oblivion-so often choose to weigh down the library shelves.

Though he treats them without olemnity, the characteristic Hattersley themes are here. The grief at what was done to Labour at the start of the eightles by comrades who chickened out and fanatics who stayed; the frustrations of a life which might have been given to gov-ernment and has largely been lived another letter.

commitment to preaching equality the dimming of which among the commanding heights of his party has made him, in recent months, the least expected and most compelling critic of the Blair revolution.

What makes this book such a joy is that it explains what so often balfles outsiders; why it is that people get so hooked on the vocation trade, pastime and game which is political life. It's full of enticing stories of friends and foes alike. There is Stafford Cripps, in something close to a fit of the vapours at the very idea of manipulating a budget for political gain. There's Hugh Dal ton, arranging a disastrous lunch after Crosland's first marriage and chortling as the not-very-happy con ple depart: "Well, I think that got them off to a very bad start."

in a word, it's a treat. Except for the collapse by the end of Hatters-ley's credibility. Fans of Endpiece will not be too thrown by close colleagues misspelled, Blackpool he tels misnamed, Neil Kinnock sent to the wrong university, even Wigan losing the Rugby League cup final in a year when Leeds played Wake field Trinity. But some things go too deep for forgiveness. Bad enough that even a Sheffield Wednesday supporter should believe that Nor man Hunter of Leeds and England played at right-back, But for this celebrated Yorkshireman to refer to an opening bowler called "Truman" is more than the spirit can bear. High time Michael Foot wrote him

The last word in trivia

James Wood

The Reader's Companion to Twentleth-Century Writers edited by Peter Parker 4th Estate 825pp £25

AST YEAR, Peter Parker and 🖢 his contributors produced ส reference book that was also a distinguished exercise in criticism, The Reader's Companion To The Twentleth-Century Novel. This is the companion to that companion — the back door, so to speak, to the earlier edifice, through which all the important gossip and trade must flow.
As before, Parker's contributors

have been encouraged to spike their entries with a little high-proof poison, and the result is a book that reads less like a study-aid than a collection of acute essays. Minor writers, on the whole, are seen as minor, and unstable reputations are not kept unfairly afloat. Nicholson Baker, for instance, is seen through a long funnel, as he should be: and how quickly he disappears! "At first, r could do little wi critics were concerned; his books, however, have made a steadily di-

Parker's last book judged most of the important English-language novels of the 20th century; his new one judges the important trivia. Enchanting it is, too. The critic William Empson gave his two sons three Christian names each: one from Afrikaans (he married a South African), one from English, and one from a town captured by the Allies on the day each son was born. So we have, in the case of one of them,

"Jacobus Arthur Calais". The errors are flyspecks: an occasional unwillingness to interrupt delightful gossip with the embar-rassments of mortality (neither Frederick Exley nor Howard Ne merov are alive, contrary to what this book might wish for them). But the book feels impressively invulnerable. To write of Henry Green that he was "quintessentially English e disliked reading any book set abroad" is to paint a myth; one of Green's favourite writers was Céline, and he told one interviewer that he kept Kafka's journals by his bedside.

Certain cutrles read as if they had been ghosted by National Geo-graphic Magazine. Is it enough to say only that VS Pritchett's autobiographies "provide a fascinating glimpse of bygone days ? Or that James Kelman lives in "a tenement" (he does not; my sister shared a landing with him for five years) and drinks and smokes hard, frequents bars, likes his tea strong, often has a beard, and is reputed to be a fierce interviewee". Often has a beard, eh? Doesn't one hear, at such moments, the clatter of closing ranks, somewhere at the back London literary party? But such swerves are rare. Though it is not as instructive nor as enthralling as its big brother, it is funny, acute an quietly cruel. One suspects that liverary companions will never be the same again.

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James Wood

From Philip Roth's Mickey Sabbath to Gitta Serenv's

The best of tomes

Albert Speer, 1995 will go down as the year of the monster book judging by who has been reading what

Two in the Booker intake whose Sabbath's Theater by Philip Roth cause I was unable to advance: Penelope Fitzgerald's The Blue Flower (Flamingo, £14.99), a minor miracle of sympathy and crispness; and Richard Francis's Taking Apart the Poco Poco (Fourth Estate, £9.99), which took an almost ostentatiously standard subject - a day in the life of a nuclear family plus, crucially, Raymond the dog) in an English town - and treated it

Michael Billington

February, usually the darkest month, this year had the power to light the whole year. It brought Gillian Rose's novel Love's Work (Chatto, £9.99), a tough, passionate philosophical memoir about not despairing. And also Morvern Callar y Alan Warner (Cape, £9.99); a rave girl, a Scottish superstore, the author's death and a yearning romanticism all in one.

Villiam Trevor

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

Adam Mars-Jones

with delicate intensity.

Jenny Turner

Genius is not easy to portray. In Lowis Carroll (Macmillan, £25) Morion N Cohen succeeds impressively in connecting the diffident, ring clergyman who was Charles Dodgson with the inspired, sharp-witted author. Meticulously researched and notably written, this is a blography that reassumption as fact or to tease too much out of the blend of innocence and high sophistication that coloured the life of a remarkable and complicated personality.

Snathan Coe

n the year when British publishing standards came under sustained attack from market forces, let's salute three heroic, uncommercial venlures: Harvill's publication of The Poet, a marvellous novel by the Korean writer Yl Mun-Yol (£8,99); and Viking's commitment to

monumental translations · Albert Cohen's massive vansong Belle du Seigneur (£20), and a 200-year-old woner, the weird labyrinthine lanuscript Found In Saragossa by Jan Potocki (£16). One of the homegrown novels I most enjoyed was Michael Bracewell's Saint Rachel Touted as a "Prozac" novel, but really a dark comedy of English inertia.

Blake Morrison

kichard Ford's Independence ((Harvill, [14.99) is a wonderful, meandering long week-

end of a novel which contains one of the great heart-stopping scenes of recent literature when sportswriter urned estate agent and divorcee rank Bascombe takes his son to the Baseball Hall of Farne, in Michael Longley's The Ghost Orchid (Cape, [7], a big poet works delicately with miniaturist forms, like a heavyweight making a chihuahua.

(Cape, £15.99); in time this will be seen as Roth's best novel so far. Mickey Sabbath, Roth's diabolic hero, is a Nietzschean monster, who wants, in the old nihilistic tradition, to make death appear to us more desirable than life. Albert Camus's The First Man (Hamish Hamilton, £14.99) lovingly retrieves his child-hood in Algiers. Here is not the philosophical, but the carnal Camus: instead of pondering the struggle of existence, he savours the details that help us survive it.

Philip Hoare's Noel Coward (Sinclair-Stevenson, £25), a fascinating portrait of a man propelled by fame, applause and his own inner conviction; but also a man curiously cut off from daily reality, which was the source of his eventual decline. The great discovery of my reading year was a novel written in 1884. La Regenta by Leopoldo Alas (Penguin. £9.99), a towering masterpiece about the battle between a power-mad priest and a heartless Don Juan for the body and soul of a judge's wife.

The Railway Man by Eric Lomax Junathan Cape, £15.99), the story of how Lomax, tortured by the Japanese, eventually comes to forgive one of his torturers. I thought the particular trick and delight of it was its portrayal of a British obsession with objects - In Lomax's case, railways - and how that sustained him through the worst of times. The Revolt of the Elites by Christopher Lasch (Norton, £16.95) is the last indictment of the new capitalism from the late Professor Lasch, whose thoughts aren't easily categorised and all the better for that: there are arguments here that would appeal to Tony Blair and Michael Portillo.

Eric Hobsbawm

Neal Ascherson's Black Sea (Cape, £17.99), for a combination of intelli-gence, sensitivity and knowledge of the sub-Ject. Robert Harris's Enigma (Hutchinson, £15.99), because it's a very good thriller and because it's about Bletchley, a source of great fascination. The Encyclopaedia of New York (Yale, £40), edited by Kenneth T Jackson, almost as Sereny's Albert Speer (Macmil-

an, £25), for the intrinsic interest o its subject and the in trinsic passion of its author.

Noam Chomsky

Elizabeth Fones-Wolf's Selling Free Enterprise (University of Illinois, \$16.95) is the first major study of the huge corporate propaganda offensive after World War II to try to overcome the social-demo- reader who considers that a 29-year- Ecuador - indigenous people cratic currents that were then domi- old woman could so fully imagine the whose land and resources have

nant. Norman Finkelstein's Image and Reality of the Israel-Pales-tine Conflict (Verso, £14.95) is the onely journeys of the two middlemost revealing study of the historical background of the conflict and the current peace agreement. Mark Curtis's The Ambiguities of Power (Zed, £14.95) is an extremely scholarly study of British oost-war foreign policy. Candla McWilliam

Flower (Flamingo, £14.99) is novel in which the unsaid speaks; it is a masterplece. Morvern Callar by Alan Warner (Cape, £9.99) is a wild tale of death and pleasure, conveying at the same time a paradoxical innocent happiness in an urban desert no distance from Oban. It contains some remarkable nature writing. Theatres of Memory (Verso, £18.95), by Raphael Samuel offers a generous and hopeful understanding of the past and how it affects our society and the individual.

Penclope Fitzgerald's The Blue

Julian Critchley

Roy Jenkins's Gladstone (Macmillan, £20) has brilliantly filled the histus left for 30 years since the publication of Sir Philip Magnus's piography. Simon Heffer's Carlyle (Weldenfeld & Nicolson, £20) not the most attractive of Scotsmen, but a volume into which much work had been put. Otherwise, the second volume of the Letters of John Betieman (Methuen, £9.99), an adnirable act of filial piety. The worst book? Krug and Shepherd's Pic: A Short Life of Lord Archer of Weston-Super-Mare, by Alastair McAlpine.

John Updike

Shaken and enlightened by Galatea 2.2, by Richard Powers, published in the UK in June 1996 (Abacus, £9.99), starring a computer that holds within its circuits a little girl as tear-wrenching as any orphan in nneth T Jackson, almost as Dickens. While winging my way to endless as New York it England, I kept myself calm with peans by Henry James (£1.99); a nice thing about the transatlantic Jaines is that there is always more of him to read. This small, early novel is dry and crisp and very clear about what the author thought the differences between the New and Old Worlds were.

Naomi Wolf

Claire Messud's breathtaking first povel, When the World was Steady (Granta, £5.99), stuns the

aged sisters. Geraldine Brooks's Nine Parts of Desire (Hanrish sisters. Geraldine Brooks's Hamilton, £15.99) is a courageous and sensitive exploration of the too often invisible world of women in Islamic countries. The Dalai Lama's The Power of Compassion (Aquarian, £6.99) is a tolerant and unpretentious guide to what we can only hope will soon become a less sectarian and more compassionate world.

Stones of Aran: Pilgrimage by

Fim Robinson (Lilliput, £20), a loving anatomy of the largest of the Aran Islands off the west coast of Ireland, in which the point where nature and culture meet in the island is observed with great beauty and precision. My Alexandria by Mark Doty (Cape, £7) was a big discovery — a new American poet published for the first time on this side. Formally perfect, with wonderful control of the stanza; but the tone is never beautiful for its own sake - there's a real urgency about what's being said. And New and Selected Poems by Michael O'Loughlin (New Ireland Books, £5.99), one of the most neglected Irish poets: poems written from his long exile in Amsterdam, meditations on the ruins of Europe, on history and exile; the tone wry and

Elaine Showalter

in the night, men are crying, and women are reading about it. I very much enjoyed Martin Amiss The Information (Flamingo, £15.99), Nick Hornby's High Fidelity (Gollancz, £14.99), Richard Rayner's The Blue Suit (Picador, £9.99), and especially Philip Norman's Everyone's Gone to the Moon (Hutchinson, £15.99) - about the glory days of London journalism.

The Prince and Princess of Wales are allowed to have their say, but produced her own account of life at Highgrove, The Housekeeper's Diary (Barricade, \$19.95), she was promptly injuncted. Having read it, I can; see why: if Berry is to be believed the Princess's yearning to love everyone does not extend to the below-stairs classes. Copies can be obtained by mail order from American bookshops.

John Ryle

The Huaraoni are the Ogoni of

outsiders, notably the Conoco oil company, in cahoots with the Ecuadorian government. Savages, by Joe Kane (published by Alfred A Knopf in the US; not yet in the UK). is an uncommonly well researched and elegantly written account of this clash of cultures, free of sentimentality and romantic primitivism, the besetting vices of the genre. Bury Me Standing by Isabel Fonseca (Chatto & Windus, £19) is an equally accomplished account of auother minority, strangers on our doorstep, the Gypsies of eastern Europe. These are books on subjects that are hard to write about with

decorum and without tedium, but

Julian Barnes

they succeed admirably.

Rush Limbaugh likes to stroke the ditto-heads in his audience with line about not seeking the death of every single liberal and communist. No, he explains jocosely, each college campus should have a couple of liberals on display, just so that right-thinking folks can see what a fossil looks like. The spikiest fossi around is still Gore Vidal, and if it's too much to hope that the dittoheads could be joited by Palimpsest (André Deutsch, £20), the rest of us should still applaud Mr Vidal's stirring lack of mellowness in this, his autobiography; may he have long life and much free ink. Art books are rarely readable, even when their texts are good. The illustrations inevitably assert themselves - every picture does indeed tell a story, so why should we listen to anything further? But Mark Stroud's little book, Edward Hopper (Ecco Press, \$12) cleverly revises this given. Its pictures are in poor black and white, while the text is dominant, acute, colourful and brief. Equally jargon-free is Kay Redfield Jamison's The Unquiet Mind (published in the UK next April by Picador, £15.99), a compelling account of manic depression by a self-studying professor of psy-

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German amateur who analysed

and played the B-D for most of his life. Their pawn sacrifice

alms at rapid development and

attack, and is promising again

defensively-minded opponent who become flustered under

Gary Lane, a former

Commonwealth and West of

England champion, is among to

UK's best opening writers, lucidly explaining the ideas and

llustrative games. The B-D

Gambit has acquired a cult fol-

lowing in Lane's own backyards

Torquay, judged by this game from last month's Torbay con-

gress. The winner is graded and

145, average club level, but he romps to victory by imaginative

JE Walker-M Abbott, Torbey

1995, Blackmar-Diemer Gamb

1 d4 Nf6 2 Nc3 d5 3 e4 dxe44

prefers 6 Ne5. e6 7 0-0 Be77 Abi

kivantage of the B-D Gambit is that

natural moves can be inferior. Man

would develop the bishop, but NM

8 Ne51 Bxc2 Black hopes for

is precise to stop White's reply.

Qxc2? Qxd4+ and Qxe5. 9 Nxf7!

The acid test of a new openings

book is whether it has the variation

you first look up. There it is on 🗛

73, with c6 instead of Be7 for Blad

and Lane's comment that 9 Nxf?is

Kxf7 If Bxd1 10 Nxd8 Bxd8 II

Rd1 White regains the pawn (Kd1: Re1) and his bishop pair is an

endgame asset. 10 Qg4 Qd7 11

d5! With c6 instead of Be7 for Blad

White would continue Bg5 and

Rael. Ke8 12 Qe2?! 12 Qxe6is

simpler. As played, Black could be

exd5. Bg6? 13 dxe6 Bc5+ 14 Be

Bxe3+ 15 Qxe3 Qe7 16 Rd6

Removing Black's best defendendered decisive. Qxf6 17 Nd5 Qd8 18

Nc7+ Ke7 20 Qxg7+ Resigns.

No 2400; 1 Bb1. If Kxc3 2 Kbi

Kb3 3 Re3. If Kb3 2 Re5 Ks43

the Dutch IM Welling's move.

f3 exf3 5 Nxf3 Bf5 6 Bc4 lane

England run but they cannot glide

Robert Armstrong

HE running game remains a tantalising mirage for Eng-land but their rejuvenated side can look forward to the Five Nations Championship with cautious optimism.

A two-try victory over the streetwise Samoans after three successive defeats was not to be scorned on a cold, cheerless day that saw Eng-land appear as fully contracted professionals for the first time.

No doubt money was the root cause of the yobbish booing and catcalls at Will Carling's men by large sections of the 75,000 crowd. When you have paid up to £30 for a seat in the expectation of seeing players on £36,000 a season provide passable entertainment you are liable to turn nasty if they fail to deliver.

The slow handclap that preceded Paul Grayson's sixth penalty - and the first he missed - was the clearest evidence that the Barbourcoated Twickenham mob have no sense of fair play. The England flyhalf deserved gratitude for an in-valuable contribution of 17 points on second half that effectively killed off his debut; had he been playing for | Samoan hopes. Nevertheless Eng-

his first club, Accrington Stanley, I land continued to look ill at ease with Grayson's goals would have been the basic handling skills and precise. heered to the echo.

The crowd's loutish behaviour was abruptly terminated by two excellent

who officially confirmed McGhee

agreed to pay Leicester a sum be-

first Leicester refused to accept

McGhee's resignation, but lawyers

Also on the move was Howard

for the two sides finally thrashed

out a compensation package.

lieved to be around £750,000, At

the basic handling skills and precise novement of the ball needed to capialise on a ton of possession. The new half-back partnership passed 75 per cent of ball received, which is probably an England record, yet continuity

Capping it . . . Dallaglio dives over for England's first try in his first full international

Still, the outcome accurately reflected the current world rankings of both sides, England, who are fourth (some would argue fifth behind Australia), never looked like losing to the Samouns, whose recent 15-all draw with Scotland places them at No 7.

Paris on January 20 — but then they usually do at the Parc des Princes. The most appealing aspect of the

Clearly England will have to im-

prove when they meet France in

England side is its comparative youth. Dawson, at 23, is an inventive scrum-half who will get better with experience; Grayson, 24, showed the professionalism of Rob Andrew as well as making a crucial break that triggered the second try; and Dallaglio, 23, not only scored a try In his first full Test but also showed a prodigious appetite for work.

Like the Samoans the French will ask searching questions of England's old guard, Carling, Guscott and Underwood, who moved the ball as though it were a hot potato at a crowded barbecue. Carling at last displayed signs of leadership, especially after the break, while Underwood made the most of his only scoring chance, Guscott, though, must be living on borrowed time with the replacement De Glanville straining at the leash.

In fact, Samoa's factics at forward offered a timely dress rehearsal for the Five Nations: offside, killing the ball and collapsing scrums were mainstavs of their repertoire. It is too glib to complain that the England pack should impose itself on negative play. The referee lan Rogers did his duty by awarding 23 penalties and Grayson did the rest.

Sports Dlary Shiv Sharma

Spin doctor for ailing series

Durban was abandoned and declared a draw after torrential rain | as Graham Taylor's replacement, denied England any possibility of batting on Sunday and Monday. The umpires called off proceedings with the visitors on 152 for 5, 73 runs behind South Africa's first innings

On Saturday, England added just 29 runs in two brief spells totalling 32 minutes. With only two Tests remaining in the rain-ravaged series, both sides will now be under pressure to break the stalemate.

South Africa have named mysery spinner Paul Adams in their 13man squad for the last two Tests. Six weeks ago, Adams was virtually unknown outside the Cape Town club he represents in local lengue cricket. But now his remarkable talent could prove a serious threat to the tourists when the series is decided over the Christmas and New

If he makes the final XI at Port Elizabeth on Boxing Day, the lestarm wrist spinner, who turns 19 on anuary 21, will become the youngest Test player in the country's history — and the first product of their development programme to reach cricket's highest level.

Adams, who played for South Africa A at Kimberley, claimed n figures of nine for 181 during England's embarrassing defeat. He powls with his head down while looking back towards the umpire's feet and has troubled batsmen around the country since he shot to unional fame in October. His 32 | good. first-class wickets have cost only 24

A ANAGERS on the move were VI firmly in the limelight on the British soccer scene last week. Cup. An extra Uefa place was Mark McGhee was named as the awarded to England last season benew boss of Wolverhampton Wan- | cause of its clubs' good behaviour in derers after a record compensation | Europe.

HE THIRD Test between deal was worked out with his for-South Africa and England at mer club, Leicester City. Wolves, Bosman won his five-year legal battle when the European Court of Justice upheld the Bosman ruling which bans transfer fees for out-ofcontract players and allows clubs to play unlimited EC foreigners. The ruling has left the football transfer market in turmoil.

> THE BBC was left in the pits Kendall, who looked forward to a return to the good times after bewhen ITV snatched the contract to cover Formula One motor racing. coming Sheffield United's manager. "I'm thrilled to be with a great club." The five-year deal, worth £60 milthe former manager of Notts lion, comes into effect at the start of County said. "Our short-term objecthe 1997 season. The fee was believed to be nearly 10 times higher tive will be to get points, improve than that paid by the BBC for its exour League position and achieve isting three-year contract. The blow Martin O'Neill quit as manager of to the Beeb's prestige comes only a fortnight after it lost the FA Cup final and it was all the more humil

Norwich City but the club refused accept his resignation. O'Neill took over at the club this season and ating because the corporation was not even given a chance to bid. still has 18 months of his two-year contract to run. However, he was being strongly tipped to take up McGhee's place at Leicester. MERICAN golfer Fred Couples won the Johnnie Walker World

On the players' front, Blackburn Rovers won the race to sign Welsh international Chris Coleman from Crystal Palace for £2.8 million. Coventry, West Ham and Wimble don were other clubs interested in the 25-year-old centre half.

Meanwhile, Wimbledon have accepted a transfer request from Vinnie Jones. The midfielder, 31 next month, left the club six years ago and played for Leeds, Sheffleld United and Chelsea before returning to the Dons in 1992. But this time it looks like Vinnie will be going for

Wlinbledon were also in the frame when Uefa chlefs stripped English clubs of a fourth European place next season, basing their deci-sion on the Dons' and Tottenham's lack of enthusiasm for the Intertoto



Monday last week. Just three days earlier his number had come up in the club's Revival Draw. The prize?

Arsenal 1, Chelsea 1; Aeton Villa 4, Coventry 1; Blackburn 1, Middleebrough 0, Liverpool 2, Man Utd 0; Navosetie Utd 1, Everton 0, CPFI 2, Botton 1; Sheft Wed 9, Leede 2; West Ham 2, Southermp-

ton 1; Wimbledon 0, Tollenham 1. Le positione: 1, Newcaste Utd (played 18, points 42); 2, Man Utd (18-35); 3, Tottenham (18-33). 42; 2, Man Uto (18: 3b); 3, Ionennan (18: 3s).

Bonsley 1, Charlon 2; Grinneby 1, Southend 1;
Huddenfield 4, West Brom 1; Ipswich 1, Shelf Upd
1; Laicester 3 Norwich 2; Millwell 0, Berby 1;
Olcham 4, Binningham 0; Portemouth 4, Luton 0;
Resding 1, Sunderland 1; Stofte 1, Cystal Palace
2; Waltord 3; Transfers 0; Wolverhampton 0, Portyels 1, Leading positions 1, Sunderland (2138; 2; Derby (22-37); 3, Lejobsler (22-38). 38; 2. Derby (22-37); 3. Legoester (22-39).
Second Divisions Blackgool A, Bradford 1;
Bournemouth 3, Stockpool 2; Bristol Rovers 2,
Oxford Utd 0; Caristo 1, Walser 1; Cheelerfield 2,
Brentford 2; Notite County 0, Crewe 1; Peterborough 1, Rothysham 0; Brawesbury 2, Brighton
1; Swanses 2, Burnley 4; Swindon 1, Weethern 1;
Wycombe 1, Bristol Gill 1; York 0, Hull City 1,
Lending positions: 1, Swindon (20-42); 2,
Crewe (20-40); 3, Noth County (20-38).
Vision Divisions 11, Californem 0, Claretter 1.

Third Divisions Bury 1, Gillogham C. Chaster 1, Preston 1; Colchester 2, Scunthorps 1; Darlington 1,

Boxing

Tyson back in lethal form

Richard Williams

WHEN the bell sounded, Buster Mathis Jr ran across the ring and, like a playful baby elephant, head down and probably eyes closed, crashed straight into Mike Tyson. Then, overcome by his own attempt to swing a left hook, he fell

His priority, in honour of his late father, was to avoid humiliation, which meant that he had to fight with whatever weaponry was available to him, however primitive, And for that rather touching display of aggression alone, some observers gave him the first round of last veekend's fight in the Philadelphia

Mathis, 25 years old and a 25-1 shot to beat Tyson, survived the opening three minutes, and the next three too, thanks to a gift for ducking and weaving that had his illustrious opponent's best shots, mostly left hooks, hitting thin air.

The third round was when reality intervened. Tyson immediately announced a change of gear by find-ing a way through his opponent's angled defence and slamming Mathis's head back with a long, hard left jab. Two minutes into the round he jolted him with a right uppercut, his trademark punch.

Thirty seconds later Tyson unloaded a second uppercut and Mathis was stunned. A third failed to follow it home but the fourth prolected Mathis across the ring with

took the first available opportunity to confirm Mathis's status as the second victim of Tyson's comeback.

ILLUSTRATION: BARRY LARKING

The definition of tranquillity

NMY corner of Shropshire, indulging in some gratuitous trespassing. I wandered up the golf course to watch the

moon climb above dark wooded ridges. But a sickly orange glow of street lights reflecting against low cloud hung over the urban centres to the east, and the dull, relentless drone of traffic from the motorway was inescapable. All sound - owls calling, wind

Paul Evens

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in the trees, invisible feet of scurrying animals - was embedded in this noise, as were my thoughts. Although this might be solitude, it was certainly not tranquillity.
The Council for the

Protection of Rural England (CPRE) have produced a map showing how the tranquillity of rural England is being shattered. The map looks like a Jackson Pollock painting. The white splatters of urban areas and roads almost completely obscure the green that denotes tranquil countryside. Even in the green bits it's impossible to escape low flying aircraft and

agricultural machinery. The pressures of urban living mount and infiltrate more and more of the natural environment - countryside, bush, forest,

outback — through develop-ment, new roads, increased traffic, and the artificial lights and noise that go with it. So much so, that many people yearn for tran-quility. But what is it? Where can you find it? And what good

does it do? To discuss these questions I went to talk to Dr Jane Howarth, a philosophy lecturer at Lancaster University, who has written about sense of place and the aesthetics of nature. We left the hubbub of the campus and struck out on the Lancashire coastal footpath that runs along the estuary of the River Lune from Condor Green.

N the CPRE map even this is a white (untranquil) blotch. But despite electricity pylons and docks in the distance, it only took the liquid, whistling cry of a curlew and winter sunlight rippling on the estuary as the tide rose across the salt marsh, to step out of urban turmoll and into what Howarth described as the mood of the place.

Our moods, she said, even though we often try to ignore them to push on with our goaldriven lives, are very similar to and flows, it changes, it's moody

thing; nature just is. "We have natures too," says Howarth, and they are moody natures."

science and aesthetics fail to properly interpret our relationship with nature. Only through direct contact, and without a running commentary, can we strip away assumptions and theories which restrict what we experience and discover what tranquillity is. It's not something you stumble across, it can't be created by tranquillisers or virtual reality. It's something that the body recognises as a restorative, liberating quality in nature. "We need to articulate attitudes which have a purchase on the world as we experience

But the more you talk about it the less tranquil it becomes. Far better to just shut up and soak it

These moods are not about any

t," says Jane Howarth. There are many places in nature, and not just the more remote "green" parts of the map, where we can experience tranquillity, But estuarles seem to be better than most. The great expanse of sky and sea; the blur ring of boundaries between the two; mudflats and marshes;

The descriptions offered by

moves, against any defence.
Your answer should give White's
first move and the lines of play
leading to mate in three. Send

patterns of waves, clouds and birds in flight.

your solution on a postcard to Christmas Chess, Weekend Guardian, 119 Farringdon Road, London EC1R 3ER (or by fax on +44 171 239-9935), to arrive by first post on Wednesday, January 10. There are awards of £50, £30 and £20 for the first three cor-

rect solutions examined after the

Chess Leonard Barden

OLVE A three-mover, and

O you could win £50. This

year's Christmas puzzle was

among the best creations of

chess problems and the out-

standing woman composer in

chess history. Baird's output

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White checkmates in three

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many of great ingenuity.

was more than 2,000 problems

Edith Baird, the Judit Polgar of

closing date. The answer and names of prizewinners will appear at the end of January. • For a belated chees gift to make your New Year games more enjoyable, I recommend Gary Lane's book Blackmar-Diemer Gambit (Batsford, £10.99). The B-D Gambit often starts 1 d4 d5 2 e4 dxe4 3 Nc3 Nf8 4 f3, but it can also arise from seemingly remote openings like the Alekhine 1 c4 Nf6 2 Nc3 d5 3 d4 or the Centre Counter 1

e4 d5 2 d4. Blackmar was an American music professor, Diemer u

West leads the king of dismost

Bc2.

Problem 4: Your hand is: **◆**A4 ♥K7 ◆AKJ632 **◆**A76

Rank in order of preference the

4J986 VKQ4 +653 4Q97 South West North

Pass calls: 2♥, 1NT, 14.

West North

calls: 2♠, 1♠, Double.

Rank in order of preference the calls: 2NT, 2D, 1D.

slam kitty contains £1,000, but if it is not claimed by the end of the year, it goes to the club proprietor, one E Scrooge. You therefore open 7NT as South, in the hope that you will have some play for it. These are the North-South cards:

> **+ 104** 4

♣A 1032

cards should be specified).

mas Bridge Competition, in 4. 171 239-9935. Solutions should 5 rive no later than January 26, 1996 A first prize of £100 and two re ners-up prizes of £50 will be

I would like to take this opport nity to wish all of you a very Men Christmasl

Seasonal Greeting to all our read from the editorial s ///Guardian

Quick crossword no. 293

13 Miner or

coal (7)

Across

1 East European refinet (6) 4 Patriarch or

sheep (5) Thrifty (6) 8 Scottish playwright (6) 9 Leave out (4)

Spanisht) (8) 12 Means of . gambling (7,4) (now obsolete) (8)

10 Old story (possibly

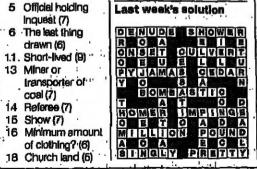
street (4) 20 Stand for cooking vessels (6) 21 (Shake with) short sharo sounds (6) 22 Large crowd (5) 23 Ministers of religion (6)

19 Performin the

Down .

1 Bottom's part in 2 Igniter or barge (7)

3 Lawyer (9) 4 Informal trausèrs (5)



Bridge, Zia Mahmood

The first four problems ask you to rank three possible calls in order of preference. You are South in each case — assume that you are playing rubber bridge with both sides

●3 ♥AK654 ●QJ8743 ●5 South

Rank in order of preference the

Problem 3: Your hand is: **♠**AK104 ♥A3 ♦J9 ♠K10965

__ IERE IS the Christmas Competi- | Rank in order of preference the

Problem 5: It is just before mid-night on December 31. The grand

North **★10743** ♥A108654

> AQ2 .♥Q32 **♦** A 3 2

and you make your contract while was unbeatable after the open;

What is West's hand? (All Solutions should be sent Guardian Weekend, Christia Bridge Competition, 119 Farily don Road, London EC1R 3ER Sc. tions may also be faxed to Guards. Weekend, clearly marked "Chris

awarded to the three best solution

runs apiece.

Vijay Singh of Fiji and fellow Ameri can Loren Roberts at the second play-off hole to lift the title for the second time. Couples won the maugural event and in the five-year history of the tournament has collected nearly £1 million from it. The prize money on Sunday was

DAVE BASSETT resigned as manager of Sheffield United on Championship in Jamaica, beating | £2,000 in travel vouchers.

Football results

Barnet 1; Doncaster 4, Layton Orient 1; Exeter 2, Rochdafe 0; Fulham 1, Northampion 3; Hartlepool 1, Cambridge Utd 2; Lincoln 0, Plymouth 0; Menaffeld 1, Cardiff 1; Torquay 0, Scarbörough 0; Wigan 2, Hereford 1, Leeding po Chester (19-35); 2. Preston (20-37); 3, GRunghem (19-36)

TENNENTS SCOTTISH CUP: First Round

ibion D. Deveronvale 2: Glascow U.O. Spartage 1

BELL'8 SOOTTIGH LEAGUE Premier
Division; Aberdeen 1, Hearts 2; Celtio 1, Felléric
O; Hibernian 1, Reith 2; Klinamock 2, Partick 1.
Leading positions: 1, Renders (17-42); 2, Celtic
(18-41); 3, Hibernian (18-28). First Division: Dundes 0, St Johnstone 1; Dun-fermins 2, Airdrie 0; Greenock Morton 1, Dundes Utd 2; Hamiton 3, Dunibarion 0; St Mirrer 2, Cyde-bark 1, Leading positions 1, Duniermins (18-37); 2, Dundes Utd (18-34); 3, Greenock M (18-33). Second Divisions Barwick 2, Mostrose 2; Clyde O, East Fire 1; Forfer Q, Strenzier C; Queen of South 1, Stirling 5; Stenhoudernulr 1, Ayr 1, Leading poelitions 1, East File (17-39); 2, Stirling (17-33); 3, Berwick (17-28). Third Divisions Brechin 2, Livingston 0: Cowden-beeth 0, Caladonian T 0: Queen's Pk 2, Arbroath 0: Ross 2, Allos 2, Leading positions: 1, Livingston (17-34); 2, Brechin 18-32; 3, Ross (17-26)

an almost implausible degree of momentum and landed him on his He still had his wits and he pushed himself back up, but to achieve an upright condition on the count of 10 was not good enough for referee Frank Cappuccino, who